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Agreement hinges on third-pullback depth

By JAY BUSHINSKY

The depth and timing of the third pullback emerged yesterday as the last major obstacle to an agreement among Israel, the US, and the Palestinian Authority that would pave the way to final-status talks.

But Palestinian insistence on receiving substantially more than merely the additional two percent believed to have been offered by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu dampened official hopes of an early breakthrough.

"I am still optimistic," a senior government aide said. He blamed the media for "creating the impression that a deal is imminent."

Last night's meeting between cabinet secretary Danny Naveh and the chief PA negotiator Saeb Erekat, at US Ambassador

Edward Walker's official residence, indicated that the two sides are interested in American ideas in their common search for a modus vivendi.

The session focused on the interim agreement and discussed the seaport, Dahaniya airport, and

Sheetrit urges another boycott of no-confidence vote, Page 2

industrial zones in Gaza. The last time these issues were discussed was two months ago. According to the sources the Americans initiated the meeting.

Meanwhile, there were unconfirmed reports that Israel recently held secret talks with European Union officials, and agreed to dis-

cuss the airport, seaport, and industrial zones in an attempt to reach an agreement with the Palestinians to prevent the EU imposing sanctions being imposed on settlement products.

Netanyahu told the weekly cabinet meeting that while there still are differences about the second redeployment's precise parameters, the negotiations' current focus is on the third withdrawal.

"I cannot say that Israel and the Palestinians are on the verge of an agreement," he said. "There is as yet no agreement on the second redeployment. Israel is directing its efforts toward reaching agreement with the US on the third redeployment. The issue here is the scope of the [third] redeployment, as well as the way in which it will be determined. Israel is making great efforts, and on this matter there is a chance that

progress will be made."

Earlier yesterday, Erekat said on the Voice of Palestine radio that the "ball is in the Israeli court," as the Palestinians had already agreed to the US proposals and it is up to Israel to declare its intentions regarding redeployment.

He said that according to the recent US initiative, Israel must transfer land from Area C (under sole Israeli control) and Area B (under Palestinian civil control and Israeli security control) in the second redeployment.

Netanyahu's effort to reconcile Israel's vital security requirements with PA territorial aspirations and the US interest in forging an agreement without further delay failed to impress National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon.

See PULLBACK, Page 2



World Cup referees arrive at the National Assembly President's residence in Paris yesterday. Labor disputes are casting a shadow over the world's most popular sports event just before its scheduled start. (AP)

Air France strikers offer to fly in World Cup fans

PARIS - Striking Air France pilots yesterday told management they would be prepared to fly aircraft to pick up soccer fans who have been stranded abroad before the World Cup by a seven-day stoppage at the French carrier.

An Air France spokesman said the company, which has had to cancel some three quarters of all its flights over the past week and looks certain to be grounded by the time the World Cup starts on Wednesday, would talk to the unions about the offer.

"We'll suggest to Air France that it provide special flights.

Access to these flights will be reserved for people who have got a ticket for the matches," the spokesman of the main pilots' union SNPL, Christian Paris, said in a television interview.

Negotiations between management and unions over plans to cut pilots' salaries stalled early on Saturday and no new meetings are scheduled.

The pilots' walkout on the eve of the World Cup has proved a huge embarrassment to Air France, and the company welcomed the union's offer. "It's a positive gesture," said Air France's director of communica-

tions, Francois Brousse.

"We will be talking to the SNPL about the suggestion," he told reporters, saying that special flights could be sent abroad within 48 hours. Paris said the pilots would offer their services for free and suggested that Air France should sell the tickets at a reduced price.

Meanwhile, the company met yesterday with ground personnel and flight attendants, who have expressed concern they have been left out of salary talks between Air France and the pilots.

See FRANCE, Page 2

ZOA leader to US Holocaust Museum:

Fire scholar who equated Holocaust victims, Palestinians

By MARILYN HENRY

NEW YORK - The new director of the research center at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum has come under fire for a 1988 opinion piece that said the Palestinians "are being forced into a tragic part too much like the one played by the European Jews 50 years ago."

The imbrolio concerns a Kristallnacht essay in the *Los Angeles Times* by John Roth, a Holocaust scholar and chairman of the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies at Claremont McKenna College in California.

Morton Klein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, is angry at Roth's comparison and has called for a retraction and suggested that Roth be ousted.

"According to the writings we have read, he seems unfit for the position of Holocaust studies director," Klein told the *Washington Post*.

Scholars have leaped to the defense of Roth, who has written or edited more than 25 books, including *A Consuming Fire: Encounters With Elie Wiesel and the Holocaust*, and *Approaches to Auschwitz: The Holocaust and its Legacy*.

Roth, who is due to start at the museum's Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies in August, said he was chagrined at the reaction to and interpretation of the piece.

In the 1988 piece, he wrote, "Kristallnacht happened because a political state decided to be rid of people unwanted within its borders. It seems increasingly clear that Israel would prefer to rid itself of Palestinians if it could do so. Their presence in Gaza and the West Bank is a liability and a threat to many Israeli intentions. Thus, the voice of Molekhet, euphemistic and muted though it may be, is not to be taken lightly. As much as any other people today, [the Palestinians] are being forced into a

tragic part too much like the one played by the European Jews 50 years ago."

"I don't agree with the language [of the 1988 article], but it is unfair and outrageous to imply that it can cancel out" decades of Roth's scholarship, Rabbi Irving (Yitz) Greenberg of New York, the first director of the US Holocaust Commission, said yesterday.

Roth, who has taught at Haifa University, "is a strong supporter of Israel," Greenberg said.

Some Roth supporters privately vented that the California scholar was a victim of Jewish infighting over the Holocaust museum, which often appears to overlook the fact that it is a federal American institution, not a Jewish communal agency.

"John is a man of unquestioned personal and intellectual integrity," said Michael Berenbaum, former director of research at the museum and now the head of the Spielberg

Visual History Foundation.

Berenbaum was livid that "such a prolific and brilliant scholar should be judged on one sentence of one op-ed piece."

Liat Collins adds

In response, Moledet MK Benny Elon said, "It is very sad to hear Jews whose only moral from the terrible Holocaust that befell the Jewish people is that Jews are dan-

gerous to humankind, even when they continue to fight for their survival as well as their revival. The fact is that this article was published 10 years ago, and in those 10 years Moledet has and continues to proudly wave two flags: the democratic flag, as well as the Jewish one, and this just shows again who are our brothers who so love to hate themselves like Roth."

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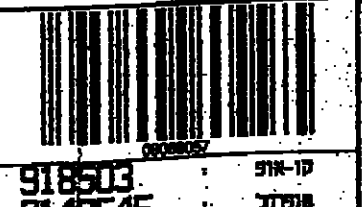
The Foundation welcomes applications and inquiries.

For further information, contact:

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Last date to request application materials: October 20, 1997.

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NEWS

in brief

Netanya policeman shoots burglar to death

A Netanya policeman last night shot dead a burglar he caught breaking into an apartment, after the thief pulled a gun on him, the Netanya police reported that the dead man was a known criminal.

Ramle man seriously wounded near Juarish

A Ramle man was shot and seriously injured yesterday while seated in his car near the Juarish section. He was rushed to Assaf Harofeh Hospital in Tel Aviv. A large number of police units were called to comb the area in search of the assailant. Police believe that the motive behind the shooting was criminal.

Afghan-bound Israeli plane stalled in Tashkent

The Israeli plane carrying aid for the victims of the earthquake in Afghanistan, which left yesterday morning, was forced to land in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, because of the weather at its destination, Dushanbe, Tajikistan.

The Itim correspondent accompanying the flight reported that the Israeli delegation, headed by MK Ruby Rivlin, was to spend the night in Tashkent, before flying to Dushanbe this morning.

Ateret Cohanim dig starts

The Antiquities Authority began work in Jerusalem yesterday on the controversial Ateret Cohanim site inside the Old City's Herod's Gate.

Antiquities Authority workers erected signs and fenced off the disputed area, while residents surrounding the area heckled them. The actual exploratory dig will begin today, to check if there are any ruins and at what level. City Hall will consider this week a request by Ateret Cohanim to build apartments at the site, although the peace group Ir Shalem has petitioned the High Court, saying there were irregularities when the Israel Lands Authority handed over the site to Ateret Cohanim.

Ben-Porat won't get time for Tze'elim report

Knesset State Control Committee chairman Yossi Katz (Labor) announced today he would not initiate an amendment to the State Comptroller Law giving Miriam Ben-Porat three months after her retirement to complete her report on the investigation of the Tze'elim 2 training accident in which six soldiers were killed. Ben-Porat is due to retire on July 4 and will apparently not complete the report by then.

A suggestion had been made to grant Ben-Porat three months after her retirement to complete the report according to the same arrangement provided for retiring judges. Ben-Porat said she would be able to complete the report if she had another three months. The report will be completed by her successor, Eliezer Goldberg.

Bar napkin complaint

Anti-Yassin leaflet causes stir

Hamas says PA or Israel authored it, Palestinians blame dissidents

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH,
MOHAMMED NAJIB and news agencies

Hamas officials said yesterday that a leaflet signed by Izzadin al-Kassam criticizing Hamas spiritual leader Sheikh Ahmad Yassin for visiting Syria and Kuwait, was fabricated or instigated by Israel or the Palestinian Authority. The leaflet distributed at An-Najah University in Nablus and in Gaza took issue with Yassin's trip to Kuwait where hundreds of Palestinians have been held

prisoner since the Gulf War. It argued against his stop in Syria where thousands of Sunni Moslems were killed in the early 1980's.

"We call on Yassin and those who accompanied him in his visit to wake up and open their eyes, because fighters cannot be bought off with money, and fighters don't sit in front of the cameras with oppressors," the leaflet said.

Ibrahim Ghosheh, the Hamas spokesman in Jordan, said the pamphlet showed the distress and foolishness of the PA over

Yassin's fundraising successes.

Hamas official Mahmoud Zahar said that the leaflet was not authentic and that the organization would publish another one in response. "It is false, and it is Israel and its collaborators who are responsible for the false leaflet," Zahar said.

PA officials denied the charges and said that the leaflet was circulated by Palestinians opposed to Yassin's fundraising tour.

According to Zahar, Yassin, who has raised millions of dollars on his tour, also

plans to visit Pakistan, Malaysia and Iraq.

While on a visit to Sudan, PA Chairman Yasser Arafat said he had told Israeli officials that they should not prevent Yassin from returning to Gaza.

"Yesterday I spoke with Israeli officials and told them not to intervene... Yassin is a Palestinian and we will permit him to return," Arafat said.

Palestinian sources said that Arafat would prefer to see Yassin return to Gaza where the PA leader could have more control over the cleric's actions.



Incitement is back

Posters of Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu montaged with a keffiyeh, under the heading 'the liar,' were found in several Jerusalem neighborhoods yesterday. Kach announced it was responsible. The Dor Shalom movement, while urging the police to eradicate the incitement, said that if the police would fail to effectively confront the perpetrators it would do so itself. (Brian Heisler)

E. Jerusalem hosts human rights forum

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH
and MOHAMMED NAJIB

A four-day international human rights conference on "50 years of human rights violations" held its first session at the Ambassador Hotel in east Jerusalem yesterday.

The conference is focusing on the "catastrophe" that befell the Palestinian people with the establishment of the State of Israel and was organized by the Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights and Environment (LAW) with participants from all over the world attending.

Society director Khader Shukirat described the conference as the most important event in Jerusalem since 1948.

Because of the political deterioration resulting from the deadlock in negotiations, he said, the conference filled a void created by the current situation and formed a kind of solidarity movement for the Palestinian people.

Shukirat said the fact that the conference is being held in Jerusalem is a "smack in the face" of the Israeli government. He added that Israel prevented officials from Gaza, Jordan, Egypt, and Tunisia from participating.

ce boycott

ridiculous no-confidence motions by the opposition are negating the Knesset's time. They have no value... The coalition today again win the confidence of the Knesset. In the last weeks the public has learned he opposition is making a lot of itself and I don't see any again in giving coalition the runaround for the

predicted "a grave crisis" after Arafat's "known position" during the final settlement, his call to convene the Palestinian National Council [to expunge the Israel articles from the Oslo Covenant] and his rejection of Israel's calls for "reciprocity."

Yassir Arafat countered by saying his cabinet will be convened date its members on the course of negotiations.

said the negotiations are at "a new stage," and thus he has ended from discussing the issue in the full cabinet.

got Dudkevitch and named Najib contributed to report.

Israel figures in Lebanon municipal vote

By HUSSEIN DARWISH

JARJOU, Lebanon (AP) — Hizbullah guerrillas took turns yesterday leaving the front lines in southern Lebanon to vote in municipal elections that is likely to endorse their fight against Israeli occupation.

Candidates backed by the pro-Iranian Shiite Hizbullah group are contesting most of the 1,589 posts in southern Lebanon, a predominantly Shiite region.

"I voted for Hizbullah's candidates because they are defending our land and offering public services with or without municipal elections," said Umm Mohammed, a veiled mother of two children.

The roads from Jarjou and other villages in Iqlim al-Tuffah province were festooned with the Hizbullah's banners and flags as well as portraits of Iran's late revolutionary leader, Ayatollah Khomeini.

Iqlim al-Tuffah is a Hizbullah mountain stronghold that faces the security zone.

"Today's voting is part of the resistance against Israeli occupa-

tion," said Fawzi Darwish, a 34-year-old businessman in Jarjou, which is only 400 meters from Israeli outposts at Sojod. Darwish said he voted for pro-Hizbullah candidates.

No voting was held in the security zone.

Zeinab Khafaja, who lost her guerrilla brother to a battle against the Israelis, said it was her holy duty to vote for Hizbullah.

"It's a vote between the good and evil," said the 35-year-old mother of four.

Hizbullah fighters also participated in the elections, leaving their weapons at the front line to walk unarmed to the polling booths.

Guerrilla leaders rotated the fighters to make sure that the front line was not unmanned at any time, said Haj Adnan Naameh, a Hizbullah official, in nearby Jubaa, home to 4,000 people.

"The fighter has a primary right to vote," he said.

The front lines were generally quiet yesterday and voting was peaceful as troops in armored vehicles patrolled the villages and guarded polling stations.

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FRANCE

Continued from Page 1

One of the unions representing ground personnel, the Communist-backed General Labor Confederation (CGT), warned Friday of a "spread of the conflict" unless Air France includes other airline workers in the talks.

A poll in yesterday's edition of Le Journal du Dimanche showed just 38 percent of those surveyed were sympathetic to the strike. In contrast, 79% of those polled backed truckers in a strike last fall.

The poll was carried out Friday by the CSA polling agency among 1,004 people. No margin of error was given.

The strike has inconvenienced thousands, including foreigners fleeing the violence in Eritrea who had hoped to return to Europe on an Air France flight from Djibouti that was canceled yesterday.

Air France is the official World Cup carrier and is committed to transporting the teams from one venue to another.

The pilots are protesting pay cuts planned by Air France to save the 500 million francs a year the company says it needs to modernize.

The obstacles to an agreement are proposed salary reductions and a plan to give pilots stock in exchange for the pay cut, as well as a two-tier pay scale in which younger pilots earn less.

Only about 25% of Air France's flights are expected to take off today.

Trains are expected to run on schedule today after strikes disrupted service this weekend. Trains conductors have threatened a walkout Wednesday.

Taxi drivers in Paris planned demonstrations today to protest the killing of a taxi driver last week. (News agencies)

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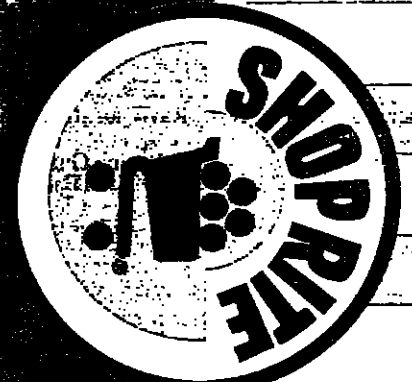
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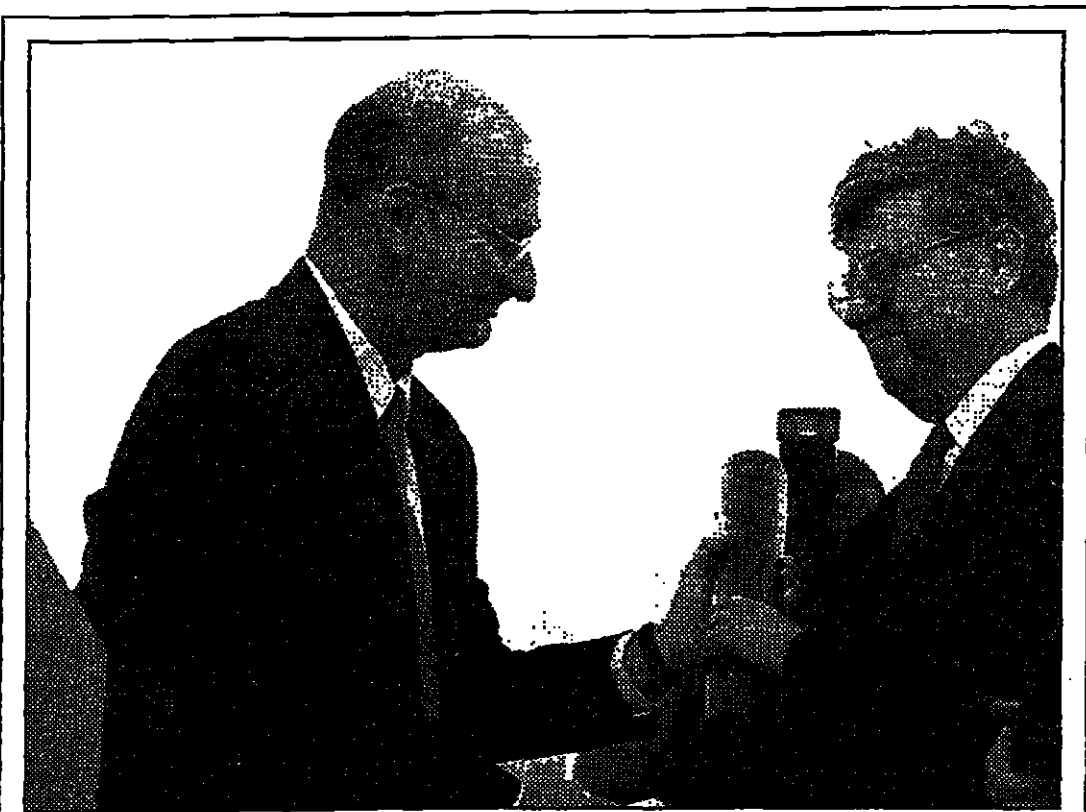
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Barak gets honorary degree

Supreme Court President Aharon Barak (right) accepts an honorary doctorate from Hebrew University President Menachem Magidor yesterday. Barak said that "a change is taking effect in our political culture" and people are beginning to view the court as the proper vehicle for safeguarding democratic rights.

(Isaac Harari)

PM backs Bazak over lie test

By HERB KEINON

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu gave his spokesman Shai Bazak full backing yesterday, amid reports that Bazak was not completely exonerated by a polygraph test used to investigate who leaked reports of the Mossad's bungled wire tap operation in Switzerland in February.

"I investigated a number of sources, including those in the media who dealt with the issue, and everyone I spoke to swore to me that the source [of the leak] was not Shai Bazak," Netanyahu told reporters. Netanyahu labeled Bazak "innocent" and said "we stand behind him."

The Knesset's subcommittee on security affairs, headed by Labor MK Yossi Katz, is scheduled to take up the matter today.

Israel Radio reported that a Security Services investigation of high ranking personnel in the Prime Minister's Office, including Communications Adviser David Bar-Ilan, Foreign Policy adviser Uzi Arad, Cabinet Secretary Dan Naveh and Bazak, found that everyone passed the polygraph except for Bazak.

Bazak was reportedly tested twice by the polygraph, and the results were inconclusive - they did not determine that he was lying, but also did not show 100 percent that he was telling the truth.

Opposition MKs, led by Ofer Pines (Labor) and Yossi Sarid (Meretz), are calling for Bazak to suspend himself until he can be found completely clear of charges that he leaked the information.

Pines turned to GSS head Ami Ayalon and asked him to continue investigating the leak, which he labeled "an especially grave leak that damaged the security of Mossad agents and the state."

Pines accused the prime minister of "whitewashing" the issue. He said that the episode exploded soon after the bungled hit on Khaled Mashaal in Jordan, and that "there were those who suspected that the affair was intentionally uncovered in order to bring about the resignation of then Mossad head Danny Yatom."

Yatom resigned the night the alleged wire-tapping incident became public.

Israel Radio legal commentator Moshe Negbi yesterday termed

polygraph tests "Russian Roulette."

"It is not right that suspicion should be cast on someone on the basis of the findings of an instrument which is in dispute," Negbi said.

Negbi said that a special com-

mittee set up by former supreme court justice Dov Levin found that the polygraph errs about 20 percent of the time.

"But for the person in that 20%, and that is possibly what happened to Shai Bazak, 20% is 100% denigration," he said.

Eitan: Polygraphs unreliable

By LIAT COLLINS
and Jerusalem Post Staff

Science Minister Michael Eitan urged the public yesterday not to call for the dismissal of Shai Bazak, the prime minister's spokesman, on the basis of ambivalent lie detector test results.

Eitan who headed a parliamentary committee probing the use of polygraphs told Israel Radio yesterday that the device is not intended to unequivocally determine guilt or innocence.

He also noted the polygraph is not acceptable as evidence in court or as grounds to fire someone.

According to Eitan, the poly-

graph is useful as a means of checking someone who wants to work in a sensitive post or as an aid in certain inquiries, but is not effective for discovering the source of a leak.

Veteran polygraphist Ishaya Horowitz said in an interview with The Jerusalem Post last year that the polygraph examination is more reliable than other investigative methods.

"Even if it's not 100 percent reliable, it is a tool which is more reliable than other investigation methods and is an accepted practice here for all those requiring security clearances," he added yesterday.

In January 1997, Attorney General Elyakim Rubinstein refused to submit to the General Security Service's demand to take a polygraph test before taking office.

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STRIKE A MATCH

Hoter-Yishai's conviction overturned

By DAN IZENBERG and RIM

Tel Aviv District Court yesterday overturned the conviction of Israel Bar Association chairman Dror Hoter-Yishai on income tax evasion charges.

Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court had convicted Hoter-Yishai of helping his father conceal income from the tax authorities and sentenced him to six months' probation and a NIS 50,000 fine.

The three-judge panel ruled that the case was a legitimate disagreement between Hoter-Yishai and the tax authorities about the amount owed and that there was no intent to defraud the government.

They also took pains to point out that their decision could in no way be construed as criticism of Magistrate's Court Judge Ziva Hadassi-Herman, who, they said, "attempted to steer the trial, both in the evidentiary stage and in the stage after her verdict was delivered, through very story waters in a most professional manner."

Hoter-Yishai, at the time, had severely criticized the lower court's verdict.

After yesterday's reversal, he repeated his charges that the indictment had been a punitive measure by the judicial system because he had dared to criticize it.

"There is a debate in the judicial system as to whether everything is justiciable and

whether the Supreme Court should function as the supreme legislator and supreme director-general of the state," he said in a statement.

"There is a problem in the judicial system. It is collapsing under the burden of its work and is not properly balancing between its duty to provide worthy and punctual judicial services to the public at large, and the desire of the heads of the system to deal more and more with determining the limits of the constitution, which has not yet been written. This mission is the responsibility of the legislature, not the judiciary, and the criticism we have raised on this matter is substantive and addresses the issue, not the personalities."

"The baseless indictment which was served against me for extraneous reasons and through the misuse of power, was meant to silence my criticism, to paralyze my activity in the public post to which I was elected by a large majority, and to assassinate my character. It is only fit that those responsible for this deed pay the price in order to cleanse the system."

"The erroneous way in which the verdict was handed down in magistrate's court only proves my argument that the proposals of the Supreme Court to modify the prerogatives of the courts will not solve the problem, but rather exacerbate it."

Haifa U. in \$50m. expansion program

By DAVID RUDGE

Haifa University, where the number of students has already doubled in the past three years, is set to embark on a \$50 million expansion program, particularly in the field of high technology.

Details were unveiled by Haifa University President Yehuda Hayuth at the university's 26th annual board of governors meeting, which began Saturday night.

The program includes the construction of new classrooms, research facility offices, laboratories and dormitories on 33,000 square meters of land on the university's Mt. Carmel campus.

Hayuth said the financing for the projects would come from donations from both here and abroad, including a donation of \$4.5m. for the dormitories from Haifa businessman Gad Ze'evi.

"The tremendous development of the university in the past three years and the national effort to train people in computer science and high-tech professions obliges the university to adapt and expand and complete the preparations by the year 2,000," said Hayuth.

He told the board meeting that the international computer concern IBM had chosen to establish its world center for technological science at Haifa University.



Remembering a righteous gentile

Martha Wimbberger points to her father Max Maurer's name on the list of righteous gentiles during a visit at Yad Vashem yesterday with her husband Joseph (right) and survivor John Weiner (left), who was saved by Maurer on April 27, 1945. Maurer, a member of the German police, saved Weiner and 12 other prisoners when 13 escaped prisoners from a death march from Buchenwald were turned over to the police with explicit instructions that they be shot. Maurer hid them in a barn until the American tanks rolled in the following day. After liberation, Weiner and a fellow escapee stayed with Maurer and his family for about eight months.

(Text: Marie Rochester; Photo: Isaac Harari)

Underground fighters finally dialogue with UK

By HERS KEMON

Sitting in the Adit prison in 1946, a commuted death sentence hanging over his head, 18-year-old Yosef Nahmias never dreamed he would see the day when a British ambassador would address a gathering of Jewish underground fighters.

That day arrived last Wednesday night, and Nahmias savored the moment.

"It felt great," Nahmias said of the Tel Aviv gathering for the jubilee of some 300 Hagana, IZL, and Lehi veterans who served time in British prisons here and in Africa during the pre-state days.

Among those in attendance were Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Tel Aviv Mayor Ronni Milo, and British Ambassador

David Manning, representing the British government that 50 years ago imprisoned many of those at the gathering.

"Who dreamt that this would happen within a generation," said Nahmias.

Nahmias, an IZL member, was arrested for his part in blowing up a bridge on the "Night of the Bridges" on June 17, 1946, when all the bridges on the country's borders were blown up.

Nahmias was in the British Army at the time and was convicted of treason and sentenced to death. His sentence was commuted to six years.

He escaped from the Acre prison in 1947.

"It is no secret Britain and Israel share a complicated history," Manning told the gathering. "There is much we can celebrate

together. But sometimes we have had opposing views and been on opposing sides. The last years of the Mandate were such a time and still cast their shadow.

"This period leaves us with some bitter memories. When we think of the Mandate, we tend to focus on our attempts at peacekeeping and peacemaking, and on our legacy of democratic government and the rule of law. For you, the focus is inevitably different: It is of internment camps, the Exodus, and the obstacles to Jewish settlement and independence.

"The 50th anniversary is a good moment both to recognize what happened, to reconcile ourselves to it, and to be reconciled to one another. It has long become a truism of Britain's post-imperial history that yesterday's opponents have become today's

friends. Old enmities have indeed been transformed. This does not mean that we can and should forget, it does mean we should be reconciled."

Although it was reported that some of those invited to the gathering refused to attend because of the participation of the British ambassador, most of the former prisoners have, indeed, become reconciled with their former captors.

"I don't believe anybody stayed away because of the British ambassador," said Eli Sheerit, 72, who spent the years 1945-1948 in British lockups at Latrun and then Adit for conducting reconnaissance for IZL. "It did not bother me that he was there. It was 50 years ago. They did their duty, and I did my patriotic duty."

NEWS

in brief

12-day remands for Givatayim shooting suspects

Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court yesterday remanded Chico Beit-Adah, suspected of involvement in a May 5 cafe shooting in Givatayim in which 11 people were wounded, for 12 days.

Beit-Adah, who turned himself in after fleeing the law for a month, is suspected of being the one who fired into the cafe as part of a plot to kill Roni Harari, the brother of reputed Ramat Amidar gang leader, Yossi Harari. Roni Harari was among those wounded in the attack.

The court also remanded Dotan Shukrun, another suspect in the shooting, for another 12 days.

Man gets two years for drunk-driving death

A Tel Aviv District Court judge sentenced a Karmiel man yesterday to two years in prison for killing a woman whose car he struck with his commercial vehicle while driving while intoxicated. Judge Avigdor Mishali also confiscated the driver's license of Boris Ox, 39, and gave him an additional three-year suspended term.

The crash, in which Ora Even-Tsetur died, occurred in January 1997, while Ox was driving from Acre to visit a friend in Ashkelon.

Man hospitalized after stabbed by wife

A man has been hospitalized in Nahariya Government Hospital after being stabbed by his wife during an argument at their home in Tarshiha on Saturday, police said. The wife, who was arrested, has been ordered by the Acre Magistrate's Court to stay at another village near Nahariya while police investigate the knifing.

Dana International in court today

Eurovision Song Contest winner Dana International is expected to appear in court today to face charges of assaulting a waitress and another person in November 1995 during a performance at a Kapulsky coffee shop in Rishon LeZion.

The singer allegedly threw a bottle of mineral water at the head of one person and hit the other. The case is scheduled to come up in the Rehovot Magistrates Court which is reportedly beefing up security to cope with media interest and fans.

Matza heading team at UN anti-drug parley

Health Minister Yehoshua Matza was due to fly to New York last night to head the Israeli delegation to a special session of the UN General Assembly dedicated to the war on drugs. The heads of government of some 20 countries, including US President Bill Clinton and 10 prime ministers, will attend the three-day session. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu asked Matza to head the delegation, which includes representatives of five ministries, the Anti-Drug Authority, and MK Eli Ben-Menahem, chairman of the Knesset Anti-Drug Committee.

Children given TB vaccine in error

The Health Ministry is investigating an incident in which seventh graders in a Netanya school were mistakenly given anti-tuberculosis vaccine instead of a skin test for natural immunity against TB. The vaccine did not endanger them, but it does often cause side effects, such as swollen glands, that pass within two weeks. A ministry team will be sent to the Bar-Ilan School to offer explanations to parents and children.

Breast reconstruction patient gives birth

A woman who underwent breast reconstruction with fatty tissue taken from her abdomen and pushed up under the skin to her chest has become the first here with this condition to give birth after the surgery. Rambam Hospital in Haifa reported that so far, 100 local women have had such reconstruction after being treated for breast cancer. Only a few cases of successful pregnancies after such surgery have been reported around the world. The 35-year-old woman had her baby girl two weeks ago.

Soroka aids Russian boy who swallowed acid

Doctors at Soroka Hospital in Beersheba have come to the aid of a three-and-a-half-year-old Russian boy who was unable to eat for two months because he had swallowed acid which eroded much of his esophagus.

The boy, Nikolai Goharev, was apparently brought here by relatives after Russian hospitals either could not treat his injuries or demanded a high fee for surgery.

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Kosovo separatists call for full mobilization

By JOVAN KOVACIC

PRISTINA, Serbia (Reuters) — The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), locked in combat with Serbian police, appealed yesterday to all able-bodied ethnic Albanian men to join the battle for independence.

"The KLA calls on all men from 18 to 55 years to join in the struggle for the liberation of the country," it said in a statement published in the Albanian newspaper *Koha Ditore*.

The KLA also urged men who have fled with their families to neighboring Albania to return to

fight.

Ethnic Albanians make up about 90 percent of the Serb province's 1.8 million people. More than 250 people have been killed since February in a crackdown by Serbian forces.

The last week of violence in western Kosovo has left scores, perhaps hundreds, of people dead and their villages razed after Serb security forces launched an operation to reopen roads once controlled by the KLA.

The clashes have unleashed a tide of refugees who trek across the mountainous border into Albania with harrowing accounts

of bombings, bombardments and massacres.

None of the reports could be independently confirmed as the battle zone is sealed by both the Serbs and the KLA.

Towns like Bajram Curi in northern Albania have become outposts and recruiting centres for the KLA, which has evolved from a shadowy organization of a few hundred people into a force that controlled some 30% of Kosovo until last week.

The KLA — led by a Croatian army general who fought the Serbs in Herzegovina and other former Yugoslav officers — held

sway over the strategic Pristina-Pec, Pec-Djakovica and Pristina-Djakovica roads.

The Serbs claimed their offensive dealt a severe blow to the separatist guerrillas but observers question how long Belgrade can sustain its show of force politically and economically.

The people of Kosovo, embittered by Serb brutality and the inefficiency of moderate Albanian politicians, have swelled the ranks of the KLA.

"I have no option now but to take a gun and join my people," a drama student said. "I have never thought there would come a

day that I would want to kill another human being but this is what the Serbs have turned me into."

Thousands of people demonstrating in the provincial capital of Pristina this week chanted support for the KLA.

"They (the Serb police and the KLA) now feed off each other. The Serb police have become the best recruiters for the KLA," a Western diplomat said.

"The more atrocity stories the people hear the greater is their frustration that nothing is being done to help them. The KLA is offering the only alternative they

can see is working, if nothing other than to hurt back."

For most of the years since Serbia revoked Kosovo's autonomy in 1989, ethnic Albanian leader and president of the self-styled Kosovo republic Ibrahim Rugova sought independence through non-violent means.

"More and more Albanians are figuring out after 10 years of frustration that the 'turn the other cheek' policy has failed and are swelling KLA ranks," the diplomat said.

The KLA now threatens to eclipse Rugova's role as chief negotiator with the Serbs and the

world. The guerrillas have also narrowed his ability to maneuver by insisting on independence.

The international community has backed Belgrade in rejecting independence as an option and is hoping to convince both sides to reach a compromise on enhanced autonomy for the province.

In another warning, the KLA said on Sunday that "all politicians must wholeheartedly support the KLA to join the struggle and fight together."

"We must all be the KLA," it said. "Only that way we can save our people and liberate Kosovo with the least sacrifice."

Eritrean capital braces for renewed air raids

By MANOAH ESIPISU

ASMARA (Reuters) — The Eritrean capital braced for more air strikes yesterday after an Ethiopian deadline passed for hundreds of foreigners to fly to safety.

With no end in sight to the bewildering and undeclared war between the Horn of Africa neighbors, Asmara residents faced the real threat of more bombing raids from 7 a.m. local time, when Ethiopia's 13-hour suspension of raids ended.

The let-up allowed foreign nationals to board evacuation flights sent by the United States, Germany, Russia, Italy, Britain and the United Nations.

Ethiopian MiG fighters have hit Asmara airport three times since the war between the former comrades over a barren border area erupted on Friday.

Eritrea's tiny air force is no match for Ethiopia's aerial might inherited from the Soviet-equipped regime which the two neighbors jointly toppled in 1991.

The United States and Rwanda, close friends of the two belligerents, have failed to mediate a settlement or a cessation of hostilities.

Italy, the colonial master of both countries between 1936 and 1941, described the conflict as "absurd" on Saturday.

The departure of the last Italian aircraft — carrying Italian, South Korean and German of Eritrean extraction — ended the busiest night in the history of Asmara International airport since Eritrea ceased to be a province of Ethiopia and gained independence in 1993.

"This is the last flight for now. If the situation deteriorates further then we would have to review the

position of embassy staff and other Italians still here," said Mario Baldi, Charge d'Affaires at the Italian embassy in Eritrea.

Airport staff estimated that up to 1,500 foreigners had left on board a dozen planes overnight. About 200 Ethiopians had also been flown out as a security measure against possible reprisals, airport staff added.

The United Nations pulled out all but five international staff.

"I'm very unhappy to leave. I did want to stay but when they attacked the airport then I knew it was time to go," said Julie Stewart of Columbus, Ohio, who had been teaching journalism at Asmara University.

Like many foreigners she feared heavy reprisals for Friday's strafing of streets in the northern Ethiopian town of Mekele by an Eritrean warplane. The 47 civilian victims, at least 10 of them children, were buried on Saturday as popular anger mounted in Ethiopia.

"Following the attacks on Mekele I expect the Ethiopians to bomb civilian targets in Asmara," Stewart said before she was evacuated.

Ethiopia's population of 60 million dwarfs Eritrea's by 15 to one. But both countries have huge armies by African standards and shared out an impressive arsenal of Soviet-bloc tanks, artillery and munitions after their victory in 1991.

Eritrea was rewarded with independence after a referendum in 1993, and the two countries enjoyed friendly relations until the sudden clash last month over a rocky 400 square km. triangle of land which both claim.

In public, the mood in both capitals was bellicose.

President Isaya Afewerki was hailed by crowds during a walkabout in Asmara on Saturday.

In Addis Ababa, some 800 kms. from the war zone, Prime Minister Meles Zenawi made no public comments but many Ethiopians demanded vengeance for Mekele.

"They (Eritreans) should pay for it and there should be no mercy," one office worker said.

The heads of Ethiopia's nine federal states said they had started mobilizing combatants to wage the war.

So far, Eritrea has shot down three Ethiopian warplanes for the loss of one. But there was almost no official or independent news from the border, where both sides have massed infantry, artillery and armor.

Italian President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro appealed for peace in a letter to the presidents of both nations and said all historical evidence showed there was no ambiguity about the border demarcation.

"What is happening, therefore, is absurd in all respects," he said.

"The two sides must... look at the underlying reasons for this situation, which could compromise for decades any prospect of battling the poverty of both countries," Scalfaro told the duelling neighbors.

The conflict was set to overshadow next week's annual summit in Burkina Faso of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

But the pan-African body, which has its headquarters in Addis Ababa, has no track record of resolving major conflicts on the continent, particularly in the wake of a failed peace bid by the United States.



Mayor Gholamhussain Karbaschi during his corruption trial in the Imam Khomeini's legal complex in Tehran yesterday. "In my view the court is not competent to handle this case," he said. (AP)

Teheran mayor challenges Islamic court

TEHERAN (Reuters) — Teheran's embattled mayor went on trial for corruption yesterday and immediately challenged the court's competence to handle the case.

"In my view the court is not competent to handle this case... I don't accept any of the charges. They are all lies. But even before that, I retain the argument that the court is not competent to handle the case," Gholamhussain Karbaschi told the lone judge in a court responsible for handling cases against state employees.

Karbaschi, a close political

ally of Iran's moderate President Mohammad Khatami, made his statement after the judge, with a judiciary official sitting beside him as an observer, listed the charges against him.

They were: embezzlement totaling more than 14.5 billion rials (\$4.83 million) plus \$90,000 and 140 gold coins, receiving bribes, mishandling public property, illegal possession of public property, and illegal conduct in government transactions.

Neither Karbaschi, wearing a blue suit and fingering a set of prayer beads as he spoke, nor

his lawyers made any plea to the charges.

The arrest and detention of the moderate mayor, a popular figure in the Iranian capital, has sparked an open row between conservatives and moderates which has been brewing since Khatami's election in May 1997.

Karbaschi, 45, was freed from 12 days in Tehran's Evin prison in April after Khatami personally intervened with Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Iran's supreme leader.

The mayor was instrumental in mustering a rainbow coalition

of support behind Khatami against three candidates backed by Iran's conservative Shi'ite Muslim clerical establishment.

He is accused of using public funds to support Khatami in the presidential campaign.

The mayor, in office for nine years, enjoys wide popularity for his ambitious plans to turn Teheran into a modern metropolis, which conservatives see as hurting their bazaar allies and promoting Western culture.

Supporters of the mayor say the charges are politically inspired, an allegation denied by the conservative-led judiciary.

National Geographic expedition finds 'USS Yorktown'

By ROBERT LEE HOTZ

The wreck of the aircraft carrier *Yorktown* — sunk during the battle of Midway at a turning point of World War II — has been located and photographed for the first time, five kilometers down on the

Pacific Ocean floor, marine explorers said on Thursday.

A team of National Geographic researchers working with a San Diego-based US Navy deep-sea exploration unit released photographs of the carrier Thursday on the anniversary of the epic bat-

tle 56 years ago, when the *Yorktown* and four Japanese aircraft carriers were sunk during one of the most important sea battles of the 20th century.

Robert Ballard, best known for his discovery of the *RMS Titanic* in 1985, led the expedition.

Viewed through the video camera of the Navy's *Advance Tethered Vehicle*, or ATV, the giant ship appeared upright and well preserved 5,500 meters below the surface.

Its four-barreled anti-aircraft guns were still loaded and their

muzzles still aimed skyward, Ballard said. The ship's name was easily visible on the stern and its stainless steel surfaces still shiny.

The sea pressure at such depths — more than a kilometer deeper than the *Titanic* came to rest — is so immense that the remotely controlled vehicle used to explore the site at one point simply imploded with the force of five sticks of dynamite, forcing Navy technicians to jury-rig repairs at sea.

"We had blown up our vehicle and we were in the middle of nowhere," said Ballard, president of the Institute for Exploration in Mystic, Connecticut. "It was a mad scramble."

Working from the US Navy research ship *Laney Choest*, the National Geographic team used a new sea-floor mapping system developed by the University of Hawaii to locate the wreckage on May 19.

The MR-1 mapper utilizes a portable side-scanning sonar to sweep broad swaths of sea floor. After weeks of fruitless searches, the carrier first appeared as a tiny smudge on the sonar image.

The actual exploration of the vessel, several hundred kilometers off Midway, was carried by a deep-diving undersea robot craft. The craft is operated by the Navy's submarine development group stationed at Point Loma, California.

The team had no trouble identifying the carrier by reading its name on the stern.

"What stands out in my mind the most is the bridge," Ballard said Thursday. "We were able to look right in the bridge and see the wheel and the compass. To see the shiny doors and the camouflage paint, it looked like you could scrub it and it would be like it was 56 years ago."

Finding the sunken carrier held special significance for Navy historians. The *Yorktown* was one of three US carriers left to defend the Pacific at the onset of World War II after the bulk of the American fleet was sunk at Pearl Harbor.

As part of a carrier task force, the *Yorktown* helped sink three Japanese carriers and fatally damage a fourth during an abortive invasion of Midway on June 7, 1942. The *Yorktown* itself was heavily damaged by Japanese torpedoes and sank soon after the battle, last seen by the thousands of sailors who served aboard it as it rolled upside down and slipped beneath the waves.

The poignancy of the discovery was heightened by the presence on board the research vessel of American and Japanese veterans of the historic battle: an American sailor who jumped overboard to safety as the *Yorktown* sank in 1942, an American flier who survived the attack on the Japanese carrier *Kagi*, and two Japanese pilots who served on the *Kagi* during the battle. Both were also veterans of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

The expedition robot left a memorial plaque by the wreck of the *Yorktown*. To memorialize the *Kagi* and its crew, the Japanese veterans also performed a Shinto

ceremony near where the carrier was last seen.

The National Geographic Society put up \$1.5 million for the expedition, in keeping with its long history of funding exploration activities.

Reflecting the intense public interest in Ballard's exotic deep-sea explorations and commercial competitive pressures, the Society is exploiting its newest historic discovery aggressively, skirting a line between scientific research and commercial entertainment.

In addition to a magazine article to be published next year, the National Geographic also commissioned a two-hour documentary by its television division, as well as radio documentary by the Radio Expeditions Unit, which is a joint venture between National Public Radio and the magazine.

The voyage was also documented with a series of electronic dispatches posted on the magazine's interactive web site.

A formal news conference was held in Washington Thursday. Contrary to its usual practice, however, National Geographic required the researchers to withhold all but one of the 1,000 still photographs taken of the sunken carrier, pending publication of the magazine feature. (Los Angeles Times)

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Israel Police
National Headquarters
Investigations Branch
Missing Persons Bureau

Missing Person

The Israel Police requests the help of the public in its search for Rosa Cabarrera Mendez, a Mexican tourist, who was last seen in Herzliya on April 25, 1998, and whose whereabouts are since unknown.



Description: 47 years old
Height: 186 cm.
Build: full-figured
Hair: graying black
Eyes: brown

Speaks Spanish only.

Anyone with information as to her whereabouts is requested to call: 09-970-4444, 09-970-4436, 02-530-9344, or to contact the nearest police station.

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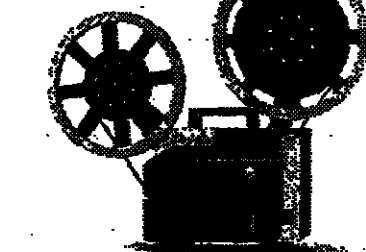
Amram Mitzna
Mayor of Haifa

A comic-book view of the '80s



Adam Sandler plays a suburban crooner who makes a living serenading newlyweds at a local reception hall.

Movie Review



By Adina Hoffman

Light as a marshmallow and about as nourishing, *The Wedding Singer* is a silly but entertaining romantic comedy that stars Adam Sandler as a suburban crooner who makes a living serenading newlyweds at a local reception hall. When his own fiancée dumps him at the altar, his business goes bust: with a broken heart, he can no longer belt sunny

love songs. Drew Barrymore, a cute waitress engaged to marry a big lug of a junk-bond trader, befriends him, and then it's just a

THE WEDDING SINGER

★★★

Directed by Frank Coraci. Screenplay by Tim Herlihy. Hebrew title: *Zamar Hachatanot*. 96 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance suggested. With Adam Sandler, Drew Barrymore, Christine Taylor, Allan Covert and Angela Featherstone.

matter of time before the pals do the usual and realize they were meant for one another.

Director Frank Coraci and screenwriter Tim Herlihy understand the trifling nature of their material, and they do a good job of

keeping things bubbly and proportional. Much of the humor here comes from the picture's comic-book approach to its time frame. The year is 1985, the clothes are tacky and everyone's hair looks awful — teased or permed past saving.

(Barrymore's appeal is all the more noteworthy, as she manages to look sweet and win us despite one of the worst hairdos in recent movie memory.) The dated music of that not-so-far-off era, too, plays a central role. In addition to a litany of Culture Club and J. Geils Band covers, we're treated to an amusing sequence in which Sandler's character performs an awful song he wrote when depressed, inspired by The Cure.

And though it is a bit disconcerting to see such recent fads already treated as the stuff of ancient history (the movie is likely to make even young people feel they've

been around the block in the last 13 years), the filmmakers' exaggerated approach to their setting feels necessary. The story alone is too slight to sustain an entire picture, and by adding a bit of polyester sparkle, they give themselves more room to play.

Sandler and Barrymore, meanwhile, are both quite charming, though he's the one who keeps the film afloat while she does lots of adorable reacting. His flattened, slightly nasal speech gives way to a surprisingly gentle singing voice, and throughout the proceedings he walks a fine, funny line between nerd and hero. The film's better moments are those when he grabs the microphone and riffs, using the wedding singer role as a vehicle for his polished stand-up routine.

On the down side, some of the group scenes are too crude to really work, even in this broad cartoon

context. The director seems to have been inspired by the over-the-top physicality of the ensemble sequences in *My Best Friend's Wedding*, questionably corny in their original context and outright insipid here. (He's also sloppy with the boom mike, which pokes its nose into the frame so often it practically deserves co-star billing.) Herlihy's script also sometimes leans a touch too heavily on coarse comic devices like the dirty-minded little old lady who sings rap (Ellen Albertini Dow), or the drunken loser of a best man (Steve Buscemi, uncredited), whose toast is one long, rambling insult to the bride and groom.

All in all, though, the movie is fun — and I use the word advisedly. It's a minor but amusing diversion, a pleasant enough way to pass an air-conditioned hour and a half.

Capricious DiCaprio wields star power

By AMY WALLACE

Has Leo gone "psycho"? That's what Hollywood wags are wondering in the wake of a series of contradictory announcements about Leonardo DiCaprio's commitment — or lack of it — to play a serial killer in the film version of Bret Easton Ellis's novel *American Psycho*.

Last month at the Cannes International Film Festival, Lions Gate Films announced with great fanfare that the 23-year-old heartthrob — and perhaps the world's hottest movie star coming off *Titanic* — had agreed to take the lead in the controversial project.

Then came the backlash: *Daily Variety* reported that by turning the low-budget film into a big-ticket

project, DiCaprio (who was offered \$21 million) had effectively caused Lions Gate to ditch two people who were attached to the film: actor Christian Bale and director Mary Harron.

DiCaprio apparently wasn't pleased by the report. The next day his publicists suddenly denied that he had ever committed to the project in the first place — though they had been silent for the two weeks since Lions Gate's announcement.

"They jumped the gun," publicist Cindy Guagenti said of Lions Gate. "He was approached about the project, he's interested, but they have not negotiated the contract at all. He may do the project or he may do another project."

The announcement and the skin-back jump-started the continuing

debate about what it means to be "attached" to a movie project. The back-and-forth also said much about the mammoth power of A-list movie stars to transform the films with which they are connected. But mostly, the story shone a light on the workings of the industry's publicity machinery.

Publicizing which stars have committed to upcoming movie projects is an age-old tradition in Hollywood. More than mere bragging, these announcements affect production companies' ability to finance their films.

If a big-name star with worldwide recognition is committed to a project, it is easier to pre-sell the foreign distribution rights, bringing in cash before the film is even made.

Most observers are less interested

in the initial burst of publicity than in the awkward way DiCaprio attempted to distance himself from the fray. By equivocating — saying not that he would never commit to *American Psycho*, only that he had not done so yet — he reduced his own spin doctors to making even more confusing clarifications. And in this insular community, where perceptions are often as important as reality, such suspicions — even if they are unfounded — could be damaging to DiCaprio.

Harron wrote and directed the acclaimed low-budget film *I Shot Andy Warhol*, about the radical feminist who tried to kill Warhol in 1968. Two years ago, Harron was approached to write and direct the film. She said at the time that everyone involved felt it was

"safer" to have a woman at the helm because Ellis's violent tale had raised the hackles of women's groups. Harron and Guinevere Turner co-wrote the screenplay, making it more of a social satire of the 1980s and less a catalog of brutal killings.

Harron's first choice for the lead role of the yuppie serial killer was Bale, who stars in Miramax's upcoming film *Velvet Goldmine* and with whom she had developed the character.

A source close to the negotiations confirmed that DiCaprio will have some say in which director is hired. One source said that Lions Gate executives pushed Harron aside because she had expressed reservations about working with DiCaprio. (Los Angeles Times)

Carmen with blood & guts

By HELEN KAYE

When he was a little boy, choreographer Salvador Tavora would curl up beside his great-grandmother's rattan armchair and listen to her stories — tales of the years she worked in Seville's cigarette factory. Her name was Carmen, "like that other Carmen, the one who rebelled against the social conventions that threatened her freedom and her independence," Tavora has written.

On Friday, Tavora's coruscating flamenco *Carmen* opens at the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center with Lalo Tejada in the title role, and danced by Tavora's La Cuadra de Sevilla, the company he founded in 1971.

Tavora has created many memorable ballets, including *Piel de Toro* (1985-87) inspired by Iberian rituals, or the 1979 *Andalucia Amarga*, which celebrated his own native region.

But his *Carmen* is special and different. It is Andalusia, he says — its rhythms, its songs, its pain, its blood-soaked ground, its passion, its beauty and its people.

The way Tavora sees it, Bizet's *Carmen*, itself based on Prosper Merimee's novel, does an artistic disservice to Carmen the woman.



La Cuadra de Sevilla's 'Carmen' opens at Tapac on Friday.

How could Merimee's hedonistic courtesan compare with the tough-minded and independent workers of the cigarette factories?

Tavora is not the first artist whom Carmen's story has seduced. There's Carlos Saura's stunning film version, for example, with the magnetic Christina Hoyos as Carmen.

Salvador Tavora has added his great-grandmother's memories to the tragic triangle of Carmen, the soldier Don José and the fore-

ador, Escamillo. One of the ballet's most sensual and dramatic moments occurs when Carmen dances with a white horse.

Tavora's Carmen is not the romanticized heroine of what he calls Bizet's operetta world of whores, soldiers, robbers and gypsies. She's a hard-working girl, like his great-grandmother, with blood and guts, and her story is driven "by the passion for freedom for which she loved and died."

New head for ICO

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

Spanish maestro Salvador Mas Conde has been appointed music director of the Israel Chamber Orchestra starting in September. His predecessor Philippe Entremont becomes Laureate Conductor of the orchestra. Hopefully the ICO will play a few concerts as possible with Entremont because he seems quite unable to inspire the musicians, who in the past few years played several very miserable concerts.

Mas Conde has a tough job ahead of him. He has to breathe new life into what was one of the leading Israeli ensembles but which in recent years played with no enthusiasm. He will need all the help he can get from the musicians — if the ICO does not improve, it will probably have to close down.

The new music director opens the new season in September with a world premiere by ICO composer in residence Oded Zehavi and music by Haydn and Mendelssohn. He will also lead the orchestra in four more programs and hopefully will conduct more concerts in years to come, because the only way a music director can shape an orchestra is by spending many weeks with his musicians, not just saying hello on occasional visits.

The ICO features three series of

subscription concerts next season. The five concert Orchestra and Soloist series is the least interesting one, featuring the premiere of Menahem Wiesenberg's concerto for percussion, dancer and chamber ensemble with Chen Zimbalista and Ido Tadmor, but other than that a repertoire far less intriguing.

The five-concert Portrait series has an exciting Stravinsky concert, an interesting concert of the music of the young Brahms and less interesting portraits of Telemann, Mozart and Beethoven.

The most promising series, as usual with the ICO, is the vocal series featuring Peter Maxwell Davies's oratorio *Job*, Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus*, Britten's *Les Illuminations* and Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* among many others. This is a series in which almost each concert promises to be an exciting musical experience.

Some interesting ICO soloists next season include sopranos Helen Donath and Nancy Argenta, mezzo soprano Neda Prochnik, baritone Kevin McMillan, narrator Moshe Bekker and duo-pianists Ya'ara Tal and Andreas Groethuysen. Facing the orchestra on the podium will also be Nicholas Kraemer, Jonathan Webb and Yoav Talmi. Subscription prices range from NIS 370 (Portrait series) to NIS 775 (vocal series).

NIO nixes Wagner

By Jerusalem Post Staff & Reuters

The New Israeli Opera shelved plans on Saturday to play a Wagner aria from *The Flying Dutchman* in a forthcoming program.

The idea was raised at the Tel Aviv Opera House during a discussion led by a panel of eight distinguished local scholars, musicians and academics, including Gottfried Wagner, the composer's great-grandson. (Last year Gottfried Wagner

published a book that addressed his great-grandfather's antisemitic past.)

The discussion was attended by over 500 members of the public. Dozens of people walked out after the opera's musical director Asher Fisch raised the idea of performing the aria. Fisch dropped the proposal following the participants' angry response.

Neither Fisch nor the opera's spokeswoman would comment. The ban on Wagner's music was imposed in 1938 following coordinated Nazi attacks on Jews in Germany.

Crazy carnival of fools



Repente and *Z*, provide ample opportunity for the supple dancers to show their high energy.

DE REPENTE

City Ballet of Sao Paulo (Brazil)
ICC
May 3

ISRAEL FESTIVAL REVIEWS

Two goofy, gabbling clowns — Sean Foley and Hamish MacColl — the first still in his pajamas, the second in tails, explode in this convulsive mix of gags, gimmicks, mime, slapstick, sleight-of-hand and old-style music hall.

Imprisoned in an improbable bathroom, all baby blue and blush pink, these lovable loqua-

DO YOU COME HERE OFTEN?

The Right Size Theater (UK)
May 3

cious mimes revel in a galaxy of inspired nonsense. The text, which they wrote together with director Josef Houben, is a direct descendant of the ever-English shaggy dog story and is compounded with blacker Beckett intimations to present, which has been tagged the "ultimate post-modernist comedy."

As much mind-as rib-tickling, this is a show that will keep audiences of all tastes and temperaments irresistibly in stitches. Houben, a graduate of Le Coq and Complicite, conducts this crazy carnival of fools with superb control and unbridled passion.

The Sao Paulo Ballet company brings with it the flavors of that multicultural society, its colors and sounds, the warmth of its people and their open body language. The two works, *De*

gy, fluidity and sensuous passion.

The first piece, set to the bitter-sweet tunes of Antonio Carlos Jobim, is of a care-free nature. The dances employ a modern dance vocabulary with some ethnic touches, and they are lovely.

Z has a more ambitious intention. It depicts the heritage that came with the slaves brought from Africa in the 16th century, who contributed to the cultural fabric of Brazil in their rhythms, the Capoeira dance (originally a martial art), and the Condoré voodoo rites.

Senegalese choreographer Germaine Acogny uses these to develop her unique movement language. Unfortunately, her exaggerated use of whips, sounds of sob and cries of the poor slaves treads the border of kitsch and is quite offensive.

— Ora Brafman

TODAY AT THE FESTIVAL

Jerusalem Theater

Rebecca Crown — Arab-language children's theater, *The Tale of the Hoopoe*, 5 p.m.

Plaza — *Laughing with Children*, clowning and giant puppets, 6 p.m.; African Roots, ethnic music, 7:45 p.m.; Golden Oldies from Maria Lukac and the Reiffer Sisters, 9 p.m.

Foyer — Then and Now, jazz vocals and instrumentals, 10:30 p.m.

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The Rebels

A New Israeli Play by Edna Mazya

Directed by Omri Nitzan
June 16, 1998 at 8:30 p.m.

Rebellion as a family trait. The play depicts three generations of rebels in one Israeli family: the son, his mother and his grandmother. Each rebels in their own way in the period in which they live. The Lehi underground movement of the forties, a radical Left movement in the sixties, through an existential and apolitical youthful rebellion in the nineties. In this way, too, the playwright seeks to examine Israeli secular identity through a family story.

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Arutzel	Now on Tuesdays	
Zahav -	Dan & Sharon Areas	9:30 a.m., 8:30 p.m.

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A post-political Histadrut

The bizarre coalitions running in tomorrow's Histadrut elections signal the ultimate victory of former chairman Haim Ramon's campaign to "depoliticize" the once legendary omnipotent labor-union federation. Ramon's revolution successfully liberated the Histadrut from being simply a tool of the Labor Party.

But five years later the organization co-founded by David Ben-Gurion has been so badly marginalized that it is even far from representing the larger interests of its very own hard-core members in a dynamic global economy.

It has long been noted that Israel is in the midst of an ideological meltdown.

In an era when many scratch their heads wondering just what substantive differences separate the Likud and Labor, along come the Histadrut elections, mixing supposed rivals together into one amorphous soup.

Current Histadrut chairman, and Labor MK, Amir Peretz — who inherited his post from Ramon when the latter joined the Shimon Peres government following Yitzhak Rabin's assassination — heads a ticket representing the Labor, Likud, Shas, Yisrael Ba'Aliya, and the Democratic Arab Party. Peretz's major opponent is Geshet MK Maxim Levy, who heads a joint Geshet-Meretetz list.

Never before has the adage that politics makes strange bedfellows been more apt.

Peretz is expected to win about two-thirds of the vote, a victory that would mean the Likud representatives in his coalition will have officially broken into what was an exclusively Labor stronghold for 78 years. The involvement of Likud union activists in the last major Histadrut strikes in December paved the way for this development.

For his part, Peretz is not shy about defending the Likud role in his coalition, pointing out that it allows him to refute claims that Histadrut strikes are "political" attempts to undermine the ruling coalition.

It is true that the stripped-down, post-Ramon Histadrut has become more like a normal trade union. As Ramon put it, the Histadrut "has finally come into line with unions in Western Europe... Political parties have no role in the unions in those countries. This was only the case in the Soviet Union and in Israel."

To be sure, the depoliticization of the Histadrut, though not complete, is a welcome phenomenon. It is obviously not complete, because the principal candidates in this week's election are both full-fledged, professional politicians, and the machines behind them are still political. Indeed, the separation of unions

from parties is a sign of separation of economics from the government, another positive trend that should continue.

Some, like Hebrew University Prof. Avraham Friedman, are concerned that as the Histadrut becomes a more normal union, it will be "concerned only with getting better wages and conditions for its workers," rather than representing a broader constituency of the poor and unemployed.

The question, however, is whether the Histadrut's self-declared "socialist" orientation represents either the broader, narrower, or any universal interpretation of workers' interests.

If anything, the tragedy of the Histadrut election is not that it is post-ideological, but that it is uni-ideological.

According to Peretz, without the heads of the big workers committees, "who are all associated with the Likud," the Histadrut's last big strike would have failed. "For me," he concluded, "they are the real socialists; whoever votes Likud for the Knesset while living from the sweat of his brow is more of a socialist than the stockbroker who is a member of the Labor Party."

Levy, himself an old hand at such class-baiting rhetoric, clearly presents no ideological alternative to Peretz. The problem, therefore, is not that the Histadrut is narrowing its focus to its workers' interests; that is the proper role of a union. Rather, the problem is that one bankrupt ideology — socialism — is still taken for granted across the political spectrum as the embodiment of workers' interests.

To truly represent its own constituency, whether broadly or narrowly defined, the Histadrut must wake up to the fact that we are living at the end of the 20th century. The Israeli economy, like almost every other "emerging market," is making the painful transition from an economy dominated by government and labor-intensive industries, to a service- and high-tech dominated free-market economy that must compete in the global marketplace.

In such a transition, the role of unions should not be to simply prostrate themselves on the train tracks of change. Rather, they should fight for policies that are both sensible and humane, such as more funding for retraining programs and for growth-stimulating investments in infrastructure and education.

Competition and privatization should not be considered dirty words, but necessary measures that unions can help craft in their members' interests. The next step toward a truly "new" Histadrut is not just jettisoning the politics, but also the stale ideologies of its past.

A two-man race

URIEL LYNN

Despite the efforts to repeal the law that mandates the direct election of the prime minister, I allow myself to predict that in the coming elections the prime minister will again be elected under the present law.

True, the movement to repeal the law has gained momentum and more members of Knesset are joining the effort, but the recent passage of the law in the preliminary reading is only the beginning of the battle. Repeal of the law would require a clear majority of 61 MKs in the first, second and third readings.

Tel Aviv Mayor Ronni Milo's declaration that he will run for prime minister in the framework of a third party, created — within the media and the political arena — the notion that in the next elections there will be more than two candidates.

This is a wrong assumption. On election day, there will be no more than two candidates, exactly as we saw in the last election. In spite of

represents the religious parties or the pure center the possibility of gaining more than 50% of the total vote.

The public knows this, which is why the election of the prime minister is highly polarized. If a new candidate who does not belong to either of the large parties runs, he will be seen as taking votes from the center to either the Left or the Right.

A voter, for example, who supports the Right and gives his vote to a candidate who belongs to the Right, but is not the Likud candidate, is strengthening the candidate of the Left. Of course, it also works the same way if more than one candidate runs from the Left.

AS we saw in the last election, in order to win the office of the prime minister, the Right and its supporters from the center, and the Left and its supporters from the center must make all possible efforts to solidify their respective camps. Any split or division of votes within one bloc

A third prime ministerial candidate — and at the first stage there may be a few of them — will know all too well that he has no chance of winning

the fact that the law allows any person who has the support of at least 10 MKs or 50,000 citizens to offer his candidacy, the political reality is such that at the final stage of the first round, there will not be more than two candidates.

Israel does not have a real center. We have Right and center headed by the Likud, and Left and center headed by Labor.

The election of the prime minister is like the election of a president in other countries. It is very different than the elections to the Knesset, because each voter must make a choice between backing a Left-led government or a Right-led government. A third choice does not exist, as there is not a wide enough political base to allow a candidate who

means the possible victory of the opposing side and the loss of all chances to be part of the government.

Individuals can cast their votes once for prime minister and once for the party of their choice, but they know that their vote for the prime minister is the one that can determine the future of the government.

Because of this polarization, no political figure of real stature will risk his political future by running as a third candidate for the highest office. If MK David Levy's Geshet party had run independently in the last election, it might have garnered two, three or maybe more seats in the Knesset, but as a candidate for prime minister he would have run the risk of getting no more than the half

The new threat of nuclear terrorism

YONAH ALEXANDER

The spectacular 11 nuclear explosions in South Asia have not only ignited fears of a regional arms race with grave implications for global non-proliferation and disarmament; they have also raised the specter of both conventional and unconventional terrorism. With a direct affect on both India and Pakistan, other states including Israel and the United States are also bound to bear the repercussions exacerbated over the last three weeks.

The consequences of these events are potentially ominous. On one level, "routine" terrorism on the sub-Indian continent will continue and even escalate considerably; since India's first test we have already seen numerous attacks.

Hijackers apparently protesting reported plans by Pakistan to test a nuclear device in Baluchistan, seized a Pakistani international plane with more than two dozen passengers aboard before a successful rescue mission by Pakistani commandos thwarted the terrorists.

In India's restive state of Kashmir, a bomb recently exploded in a crowded market, killing a child and injuring nine others, with no specific group claiming responsibility.

The "Islamization" of Pakistan's nuclear capability, underscored by the remarks of the Iran's Foreign Minister Kamal Kharazi during his recent visit to Pakistan, will further encourage extremist Islamic groups such as the Pakistan-based Harkat-ul-Ansar, to intensify their attacks. Islamic-motivated terrorism is also likely to target Israel and its

strategic ally the United States because of their alleged pro-Indian "involvement." There have been suggestions in the Arab media that Israel has assisted Indian nuclear research. Moreover, Pakistan has charged that Israeli F-16s were on the verge of targeting its nuclear installations from India.

Iran, the leading state sponsor of terrorism, has publicly claimed that "Moslems throughout the world will feel more confident now that Pakistan has nuclear weapons, because it will help balance Israel's nuclear capability."

The threat of "super-terrorism" is seen by many experts as plausible and by others as inevitable

This "linkage" is likely to spearhead a new wave of Islamic terrorism whose international "long-arm" can most probably strike anywhere as we have witnessed in attacks on the Israeli embassy and the AMIA Jewish Community Center in Buenos Aires, New York's World Trade Center and the United States' military barracks in Saudi Arabia.

WHAT is of particular concern is the likelihood that the nuclearization of the long-standing Indo-Pakistani rivalry could trigger a nuclear incident involving indigenous terrorist groups. This possibility can be viewed as a more imminent danger

than a nuclear war between the antagonists.

The threat of "super-terrorism" — which could involve the explosion of a nuclear device, the use of fissionable material as a radioactive poison, and the seizure and sabotage of nuclear facilities — is seen by many experts as plausible and by others as inevitable.

At this time, however, a credible threat or hoax involving a nuclear device, the holding for political or economic blackmail of a reactor or other nuclear facility, or the truck-bombing of a reactor, may be the

most likely form of nuclear terrorism.

Certain conditions could provide terrorists with an incentive to raise the ante. Relevant regional examples could include ethnic differences which might allow dehumanization of the intended victims; religious fanaticism which might in the view of the terrorists be sanctioned by God; or perceptions that the cause is lost and hence recourse to "ultimate weapon" is justified.

While the probability of a serious and successful nuclear terrorist episode remains low, the consequences in terms of mass destruction could be enormous. For exam-

ple, if a crude, 1-kiloton nuclear device (one thirteenth the size of the Hiroshima bomb) were detonated (having either been stolen or built by a terrorist group with exceptional resources and talent) in a major city, it could cause more than 100,000 fatalities and damage totaling billions of dollars.

The human, physical, and psychological consequences of such an incident would be far more catastrophic than those of the Three Mile Island incident in the United States (where there was no detectable loss of life but considerable financial damage) and the Chernobyl accident in Ukraine (which was caused by operators who overrode safety systems in a negligent but non-malicious manner) which killed several dozen people outright, injured, or killed thousands of others, and caused severe property losses and untold damage to the environment.

In light of the growing crisis in South Asia, there is no greater challenge to the international community than the prevention of nuclear terrorism in the wake of what has become a Third World arms race.

The policy choices that India and Pakistan as well as other concerned states make, will determine what sort of world we will inhabit in the 21st century.

The writer is professor and director, Terrorism Studies Program, The George Washington University and senior fellow at the Morris E. Currell Center for International Studies, Tel Aviv University.

Clinton's China grovel

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

Pakistani leadership had to decide which offered better protection against India's nuclear arsenal: words of assurance from Strobe Talbott or its own nuclear deterrent.

Clinton's subsequent criticism of Pakistan showed why the choice was obvious: "By failing to exercise restraint and responding to the Indian test, Pakistan lost a truly priceless opportunity to... improve its political standing in the eyes of the world." What is Pakistan to

has claimed deep concern about proliferation, Clinton has shamelessly counted the world's worst proliferator of weapons of mass destruction: China.

China purveyed nuclear power to Algeria, poison gas to Iran and, most ominously, nuclear technology to Pakistan. We winked. Why? Because not since Calvin Coolidge has an American administration lived more by the credo that the business of America is business.

The American president has fueled the South Asian nuclear arms race

make of such patent nonsense? That nuclear vulnerability represented a "priceless opportunity" to look good? In the eyes of whom? Bill Clinton? India?

Clinton really does live in a fantasy world very much a reflection of his own political experience. In that world, courting favor with others trumps everything. But in the real world inhabited by Pakistan, a nation bordered by a hostile, populous, heavily armed neighbor, popularity simply doesn't rate compared with national security.

Clinton is guilty of more than mere fatuousness, however, in dealing with the India-Pakistan nuclear arms race. He is guilty of fueling it. While for years his administration

CLINTON'S China policy is born of a combination of diplomatic myopia and political cynicism. The single most important consideration has been the promotion of trade and exports.

Rather than seeing China as a potential rival, a rising superpower, a notorious proliferator and a potential destabilizer, Clinton sees nothing more than a market. For Clinton, it's the economy, stupid — always.

This view, as with all of Clinton's views, dovetails perfectly with his political needs. The Chinese market became a giant prize to be auctioned off to the highest bidder, with proceeds going to the Democratic National Committee.

Clinton contracted out China

policy to Ron Brown, who in turn sold it in pieces to various political and financial supporters. Coveted seats on his trade missions to China and elsewhere went to big Democratic contributors like Bernard Schwartz of Loral Corp.

And when the Justice Department objected to a Loral satellite launch in China, Clinton himself overrode it. The fact that Schwartz was the DNC's number-one contributor in the 1996 election cycle (more than \$600,000) is, of course, but a fortunate coincidence. Clinton's China grovel will be most spectacularly dramatized by his visit to Tiananmen Square later this month.

But it was heralded much earlier when on April 29 Secretary of State Albright spoke with satisfaction of the "strategic partnership" the United States was building with China.

There is nothing quite like a US-China strategic partnership to put the fear of God in India. This is not to say that there were no domestic reasons for India and then Pakistan to go nuclear. But to the extent that Clinton has a foreign policy — apart from a trade and political contribution policy — it was blind to the implications of its open embrace of China. We now are reaping the consequences, even as Clinton scratches his head trying to figure out why bad things happen to good people.

(Washington Post Writers Group)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BEHIND THE STOCK EXCHANGE

Sir, — It is hard to imagine who might be dumber: the government, in thinking they can sell less than 50% of El Al stocks and call it "privatization," or those members of the public who actually purchase such stocks.

First of all, despite Transport Minister Shaul Yahalom's clumsy attempts at obfuscation, El Al's not flying on Shabbat (neither do I, personally) causes a direct \$50 million loss in revenue, as determined by completely independent surveyors, with no Jewish or Israeli axe to grind.

VOLUNTARY RESTRAINT

Sir, — A modern, developed, democratic society can be proud of its unfettered license to speak and print. If it practices voluntary restraint. Not everything that can be said, should be said and not everything that can be printed should be published.

In our society, however, no such restraint exists. From our leaders, down, the amount of rubbish spoken or printed defies description. I would expect that a newspaper that claims to have some standards, would stop publishing Jonathan Rosenblum's malicious articles.

DR. ELIAHU HOFFMAN
Tel Aviv.

STEALING OUR CUSTOMS

Sir, — The Palestinian Arabs have succeeded over the years in stealing their whole rhetoric from us. They have determined their very recent history by adopting and truncating our very long history. The language is all there: Diaspora, Return, Nazi Land, Holocaust, Auschwitz, Nazi. They even claim our archaeological finds as theirs.

The icing on the cake came when they had a two-minute silence on the May 14 (our Gregorian Independence Day) — they have now started stealing our Israeli customs which are not intrinsically Jewish and certainly not Arab.

EALLAN HIRSHFELD
Ra'anana.

If you play your cards right you can help cover this loss three ways: Buy El Al stock, pay your taxes, and fly El Al at a higher ticket price.

The rest of my thesis is as follows: 1. Israeli law does not mandate voting privileges exclusively on common stock. Thus, you can own more than half the equity of a company, yet have no say whatsoever in defining its policy, nor can you throw out the directors and install your own.

2. Since few Israeli companies feel obligated to pay a dividend, the only way you can realize a profit is by finding some sucker to buy the stock from you at a higher price. Ultimately, the balloon bursts, as we have so painfully discovered in the past.

3. Because there is no capital gains tax such as is found in the rest of the capitalist world, speculators and insiders can make fortunes on small fluctuations which they themselves may have initiated.

4. The suspicion lingers in some circles that the banks still have the ability to manipulate the exchange to their own advantage.

Is there anyone out there who can refute my suspicions? Why do I have the feeling that it's actually worse than I have stated?

TREVOR DAVIS
Asseret

SCOOTER DAYS

Sir, — Amy Klein's article "On a limb — an everyday adventure" (May 21) reminded me nostalgically of my scooter days long ago.

Today, when I am stuck in a long traffic jam in my four-wheeler, and I see the two-wheelers passing to the front of the queue, I involuntarily say to myself — Betta Getta Vespa.

RACHEL RASBASH
Ramat Efal.

FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On June 8, 1933, The Palestine Post reported that British prime minister Mr. Ramsey MacDonald opened an Anglo-Palestine exhibition in London, paying warm tribute to the fine qualities of the Jewish workers and their achievements in developing their homeland.

50 years ago: On June 8, 1948, The Palestine Post reported that

80 Jewish girls taken prisoner by the Arab Legion in the Gush Etzion battles were returned to Israel.

Jerusalem was shelled and mortared for the 24th consecutive day.

The US instructed their occupation authorities in Europe that the Jewish Agency representing Israel would be the official organization

responsible for moving displaced persons to Israel.

25 years ago: On June 8, 1973, The Jerusalem Post reported the speech made by the German chancellor Willy Brandt in Jerusalem in which he said he hoped that Israel and the Arabs would reach conciliation and encouraged a movement toward peace.

Alexander Zvielti

Bones
 WE INDEPENDENTLY
 HAVE SHOWN
 THEIR ABILITY
 ENTIRELY
 WITHOUT
 ASSISTANCE
 OF ANY
 SUPER POLICE
 SUPPORT!

terrorist

Sunday, June 7, 1998
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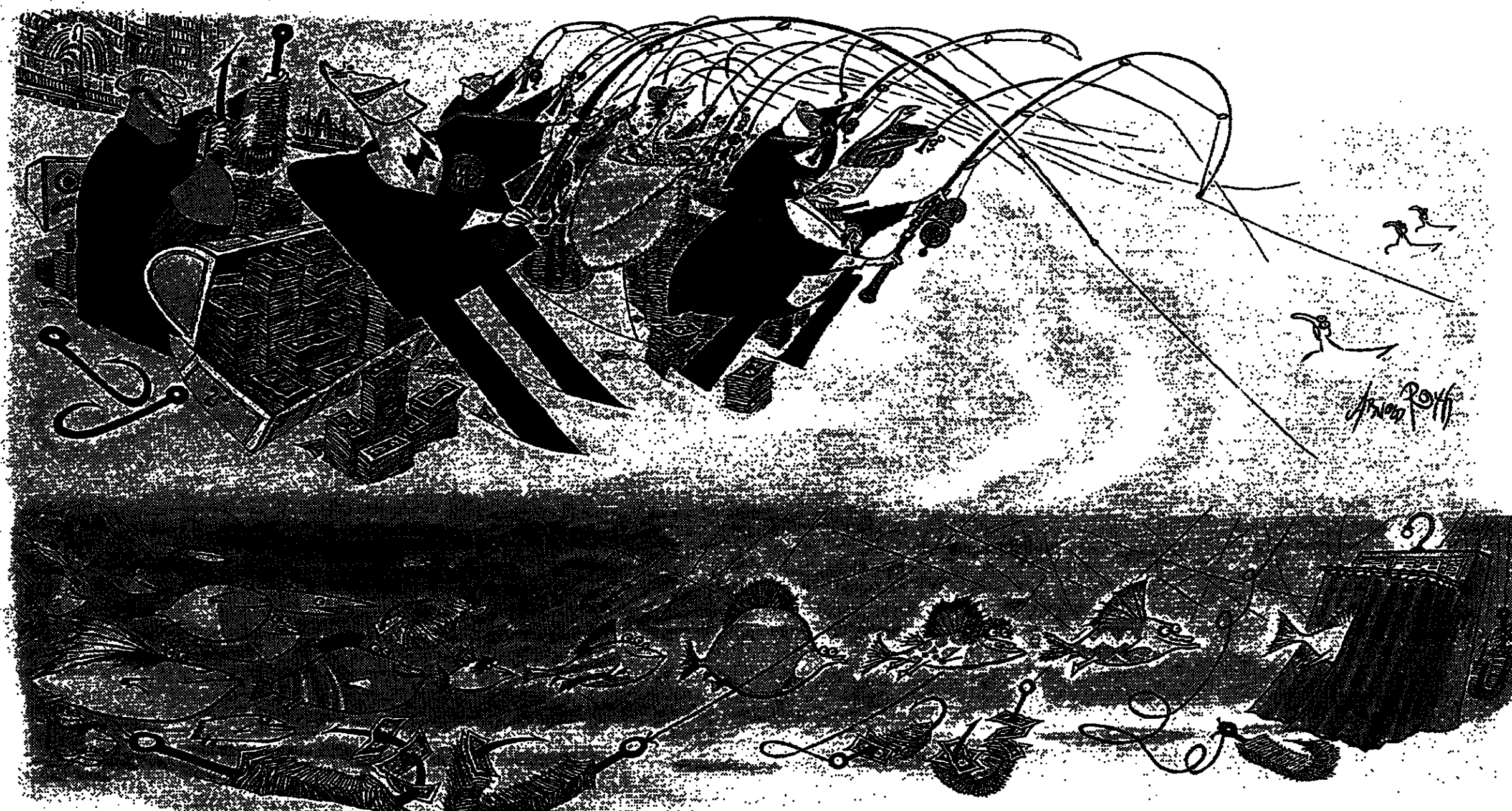
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Fish Story

Money Politics Wasn't Defeated in California



By TODD S. PURDUM
 LOS ANGELES
"MONEY is the mother's milk of politics," is the maxim coined by Jesse M. Unruh, the liberal Democrat who reigned as Speaker of the California State Assembly in the 1960's, and indeed, cash has always been an essential commodity in campaigns. The primary in California last week was the most expensive statewide election in American history, with \$100 million spent on races for governor, United States senator and a handful of ballot propositions.
 But a funny thing happened: The rich guys lost.
 The resounding defeat of Al Checchi, a half-billionaire businessman who spent \$40 million of his own money in the race for the Democratic gubernatorial

nomination, brought forth a certain populist euphoria — a new conventional wisdom across the land that even in flashy California, money can't buy you voters' love.
 But tempting as it might be in light of current campaign-finance scandals to conclude that voters rejected the corrosive power of money in politics, the reality is considerably more complex, and less uplifting.
 For one thing, the winning candidate, Lieut. Gov. Gray Davis, a 23-year veteran of state politics, is himself a relentless fund-raiser, one often accused of blending his campaign-finance outings with his official duties. And even if he seemed a pauper compared to Mr. Checchi, his campaign spending still broke the old \$9 million record for a gubernatorial primary campaign here, set in 1994.
 Furthermore, a contrary example of the power of money loomed just as large here last week: A \$20-million campaign by organized labor managed to defeat a ballot measure that would have required unions to

obtain annual written consent of their members before using dues for political purposes. The measure was favored in early public opinion polls, but its opponents outspent supporters 3 to 1, and union members went to the polls in unusually large numbers, helping Mr. Davis in the process.
Log Cabins and Pork Rinds
 There isn't much evidence that the rules of wealth and politics have dramatically changed. Since at least the days of Andrew Jackson, Americans have been ambivalent toward the wealthy in politics, celebrating the triumph of log cabin little guys and viewing elites with suspicion. Still, wealthy candidates, from Roosevelts to Kennedys to Rockefeller to Bushes, have often been elected, though generally when they managed to cloak their wealth in a populist noblesse oblige and emphasize their empathy with the people. There was, for example,

Nelson A. Rockefeller's invariable "Hiya, fella!" and George Bush's public fondness for pork rinds when his private taste ran to popcorn.
 Some of those candidates spent money in ways that would almost certainly be subject to intense media scrutiny now; for example, by trading favors or greasing the palms of local political bosses. But since the 1976 Supreme Court ruling that the First Amendment right to free speech bars limits on a candidate's spending of his or her own money, millionaires have had an unchallenged license to test the political waters.
 Money can buy name recognition for political newcomers like Mr. Checchi but it is no guarantee of success. A study by the Center for Responsive Politics in Washington found that of 149 candidates for the House and Senate in 1995-96 who put more than \$100,000 of their own money into their campaigns, only 19 won. Still, the United States

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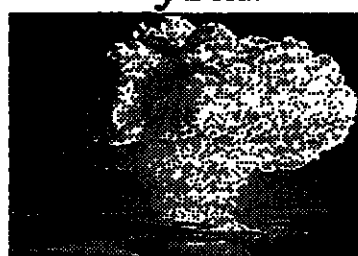
Newt in 2000?
The House Speaker searches for a constituency.
 By Richard W. Stevenson

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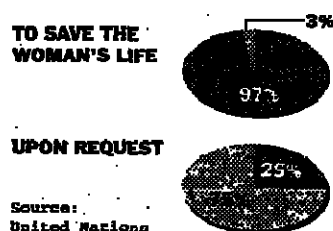
Lack of Intelligence
When the image in the crystal ball looks just like the one in the mirror.
 By Tim Weiner

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Global Divide
A statistical look at abortion around the world.
 By Barbara Crossette

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Buzz Words

Who's Afraid of the Islamic Bomb?

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

WASHINGTON
FOR more than two decades, the prospect that a Muslim country could possess nuclear weapons has often been summed up in two words — "Islamic bomb" — a phrase that captured the imagination of some and terrified others.
 The phrase appeared as far back as the early 1970's, uttered in private conversations by Pakistan's leader, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in reference to his country's hopes to go nuclear. In the atmosphere of the time, it seemed a serious warning: that once one Islamic nation had nuclear weapons, it would enhance the power of them all.
 So when Pakistan set off nuclear explosions in the Baluchistan desert in the last two weeks, the phrase was heard again. In Karachi, a mockup of an atomic bomb, with "Islamic Bomb" painted on the side, was paraded jubilantly through the streets, and in Islamabad, crowds shouted for "holy war" against India.
 "So now we have an Islamic bomb as of today," said Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, a former ambassador to India. "And it is fitted with a missile, which can mean the destruction of Israel."
 But is there such a thing as a bomb that exists for the sake of Islam and for the destruction of Israel? Or do the phrase and the oratory about it reveal other things instead — a hunger and rivalry for greatness by major Islamic countries, and the depth of Israel's anxieties?

No Umbrella Here

There is, today at least, no special reason to believe that Pakistan's newly declared ability to build a nuclear arsenal will provide a nuclear umbrella for other Islamic societies, or that those other countries will find it easier to go nuclear themselves.
 Yes, the idea of a global pan-Islamic community with a common divine mission on earth has been trumpeted in Islamic oratory over the years. But so far national interests have prevailed. Aya-



Pakistanis paraded a mockup of a missile after their country's nuclear tests of May 30.

tollah Ruhollah Khomeini of Iran learned that lesson after he tried — and failed — to export his Islamic revolution.
 Granted, Pakistan got some help from Muslim countries like Libya and Saudi Arabia years ago for its nuclear program. But much more important support came from other places: blueprints, enriched uranium, tritium and scientific know-how from China; technology (stolen) from the Netherlands. And the United States gave its tacit

consent all during the years that Pakistan's help was needed in the Afghan conflict.
 Now that Pakistan, which desperately needs financial aid, has offended the United States by staging its nuclear tests, it would seem to be in Pakistan's interest to keep its technology from spreading — something that would only offend the United States more. Even if Pakistan decided to

Continued on Page 11

The Nation

A Breaker of Molds Now Tries to Fit In

By ALISON MITCHELL

WASHINGTON
ASK Newt Gingrich the last time a Speaker of the House ran for President and, ever the historian, he will immediately say Henry Clay.

That, of course, was before the Civil War. But Mr. Gingrich has defied historical trends: he helped break the Democrats' half century of control over the House. And signs persist — like his recent pledge before the Israeli Parliament to support Jerusalem as the capital of Israel — that the 54-year-old Georgian is considering a bid for the Republican Presidential nomination in 2000.

Some might call the idea nothing short of delusional. Mr. Gingrich still faces an ethics complaint relating to benefits he may have received from Gopac, the Republican political action committee. And while his public standing has improved, aides in his press office groaned when a recent ABC News survey flashed onto a television screen showing that only 37 percent of those polled thought that the Speaker was honest and trustworthy, compared to the 38 percent who credited the embattled President Clinton with those attributes.

A Core of Supporters

In addition, Mr. Gingrich's brand of eclectic, activist conservatism fits no distinct Republican mold. Moderates shy from his confrontational tactics, while House conservatives tried to oust him last year for too accommodationist. Party pragmatists consider him too unpredictable and undisciplined.

Still, Mr. Gingrich has fervent supporters among Republican grass-roots campaigners and small donors. And should he choose to jump into a crowded primary field, he would, his strategists say, do well precisely because in a race full of niche candidates he would not be limited to any of his party's distinct constituencies.

"There are buckets full of every pond that Newt can dip into and scoop out support," said Rich Galen, a Gingrich ally who now heads Gopac, which Mr. Gingrich once ran.

Ralph Reed, the former executive director of the Christian Coalition who is now a consultant, agreed: "Newt's constituency is not a piece of the pie. It's more like cake icing. It's spread evenly throughout the party."

The conventional wisdom, reasserted after Bob Dole's loss to Bill Clinton, is that a legislative leader is a bad Presidential candidate. A Speaker risks being defined not by his own positions but by the legislation his

Gingrich searches for a constituency in a party of wary factions.

majority passes. And the making of laws, especially in a feuding, fractious House, is messy.

But in some ways Mr. Gingrich's dual roles, as a Speaker seeking to broaden his Congressional majority and as a candidate needing a wider constituency, fit together. They encourage him to be an apostle of a Big Tent Republican Party.

The Speaker's close colleagues say it is in the "center-right" of the Republican Party that Mr. Gingrich feels most comfortable — not with the social conservatives but a few notches over with the economic conservatives. He is a tax cutter who believes government should invest in science, technology and highways.

Several Republicans define his core constituents as the fans of Rush Limbaugh who are probably anti-abortion but more interested in pocketbook issues. They

are the county commissioners, salespeople and small-business owners who were the movement conservatives before the religious right loomed so large in the Republican Party. "Those who like Newt the most remember him when he was fighting to get the majority," said Don Fierce, a Republican strategist. "They remember when he came up with the Contract With America idea."

"In a funny way, Newt can cut across party lines pretty well," he added. Other Republicans point out that when conservatives tried to oust Mr. Gingrich from his post, his base of support became committee chairmen and moderates.

But watching him construct his brand of Republicanism can be like staring at a de Kooning canvas. It's bold and eye catching, but it's also hard to discern the pattern. One day, over objections from conservatives, Mr. Gingrich is pushing through the House a bill to allow a referendum on Puerto Rican statehood. A few months later, to the dismay of moderates, he is aligning with the Christian Coalition and promising to cut off funds for the National Endowment for the Arts.

Setting himself apart from Mr. Clinton and appealing to Jewish voters, he recently called Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright an agent of the Palestinians, and in a speech before the Israeli Parliament parted with American policy on Jerusalem. But days later, he popped up in Bosnia to support America's mission there.

Some House Republicans say Mr. Gingrich is trying to balance his needs for the Congressional elections this year with the Presidential election in 2000. "The constituency for '98 we are most concerned about this very minute is the hard right that we need to have not angry with us," one House Republican said. "He's playing to that group today but trying to do it without antagonizing the left-righters he needs for 2000."

Mr. Gingrich's confidantes say he is focused only on 1998, aware he has no future if he does not keep the House majority. If this year's election imperatives require him to ditch the high-toned policy speech he began the year with so he can sharpen a partisan confrontation, which



Newt Gingrich with Yasser Arafat.

might also drive up his personal negatives, so be it. Mr. Gingrich says he will not decide whether to run for President until Labor Day of 1999. Critical in his decision is whether his wife, Marianne, is comfortable with a Presidential bid. Unlike other candidates, he has not put operatives into early primary states.

A Certain Luxury

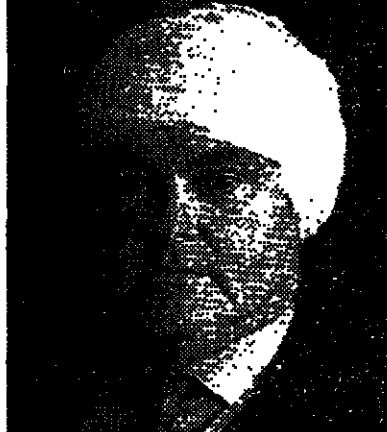
Unlike others, Mr. Gingrich's star power, fund-raising base and speaking ability give him the luxury to make a decision late in the game.

"A lot of candidates will be able to raise \$10 million, which is the threshold just to run," said Frank Luntz, a Republican pollster. "Only a few — maybe a half dozen — reach the \$20 million threshold to carry all the way through. More than \$20 million makes you truly credible. And Gingrich's Gopac, and his fund-raising capability, is truly incredible."

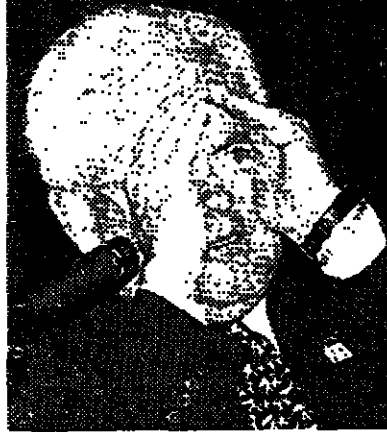
From Scholar to Speaker



1960's Graduate student days at Tulane University.



1995 At a Gopac news conference after a car accident.



1995 Speaking in support of a bill to tighten the Cuban embargo.



1996 Lending a hand in building a house in San Diego.



1997 Celebrating at a children's party on Capitol Hill.



1997 In Panmunjom, on the northern border of South Korea.

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Money Politics Wasn't Defeated in California

Continued from page 9

Senate remains a virtual millionaire's club, and in recent years, wealthy candidates from Ross Perot to Senator Herb Kohl of Wisconsin have managed to turn their private wealth into a campaign plus; they boast that they are free from the hold of special interests, as Mr. Kohl did when he won office in 1988 spending \$7.5 million, most of it his own, with the slogan, "No-body's Senator but yours."

"He called to congratulate us," said David Doak, Mr. Kohl's longtime media consultant, who worked here this year for Mr. Davis. Mr. Doak said his old boss, commenting on the California race, noted that it's one thing to use your own money to talk about yourself, "but you have to be real judicious about attacking somebody else, because people see it differently, and it can cross over into bullying."

Negativity

Indeed, politicians here and around the country said, Mr. Checchi's money had less to do with his defeat than how he chose to spend it. Even after 18 months crisscrossing the state talking to voters and 3 months of television commercials touting his private sector accomplishments and teaching voters how to pronounce his name (CHECK-ee), he drew about as many unfavorable ratings from poll respondents as favorable ones — not good news for any candidate.

Then, when Representative Jane Harman, herself a millionaire, entered the race and promptly took the lead in public opinion polls, Mr. Checchi unleashed a relentless barrage of commercials attacking her, often in misleading terms. That helped destroy Ms. Harman, who spent some \$16 million of family money on her campaign. But, in a kind of murder-suicide, it also quadrupled Mr. Checchi's own negative ratings and created an opening for Mr. Davis, who had been saving his advertising money for the final stretch.

In the race for the Republican Senate nomination to challenge Senator Barbara Boxer, Darrell Issa, a multimillionaire car alarm manufacturer who spent about \$10 million, lost to State Treasurer Matt Fong, but only after a wave of harshly critical news accounts raised questions about Mr. Issa's business record and tactics.

Rich candidates have lost spectacularly in the past, of course, including the cosmetics heir Ronald S. Lauder, who spent \$14 million in the 1989 Republican mayoral primary in New York City, and lost to Rudolph W. Giuliani, who spent \$2.5 million and won 87 percent of the vote. Former Representative Michael Huffington, a Republican oil heir, set the previous national record for individual

spending here four years ago, by pouring nearly \$30 million of his family fortune into a nearly successful campaign against Senator Dianne Feinstein.

But Mr. Checchi's resounding defeat still set off ripples of shock, precisely because Mr. Huffington, who was widely regarded as a political and intellectual lightweight, came so close, and because Mr. Checchi, an altogether more serious figure, spent about 30 percent more in the primary alone than Mr. Huffington spent in his primary and general election combined.

In general in recent years, polls have shown that most voters are neutral-to-positive about candidates who finance their own campaigns, while support for public campaign financing is often tepid. But as this year's campaign wore on, voters here seemed taken aback by the sheer reach of Mr. Checchi's record-breaking effort.

A poll in April by the Public Policy Institute of California found that 6 in 10 voters were indifferent to a candidate's decision to finance his own campaign, but by May, voters indicated a marked preference, 52 percent to 34 percent, for candidates who took the conventional route of collecting money from supporters.

In his final days on the campaign trail, Mr. Checchi went low-tech, riding a yellow school bus around the state to highlight his proposals for fixing the state's troubled schools, and publicly lamenting that his rivals had outfoxed him by turning the race into a debate about his money instead of his ideas.

Change Wasn't Good

But Mr. Checchi was also the victim of his own promises to shake up the state's political establishment. Over and over again in campaign appearances, he told audiences, "If you don't want change, don't vote for me," and voters appeared to take him at his word. Surveys of voters leaving the polls found that two-thirds thought California was on the right track after years of economic collapse and natural disasters, and polls repeatedly found that voters preferred candidates with experience in government.

Experts cautioned against reading too much into Mr. Checchi's defeat. "There's an awful lot of negativity in American politics, and it's not going to go away," said Herbert E. Alexander, a retired professor of political science at the University of Southern California and an expert on campaign finance. "In my view, that would mean candidates would have to get a bigger bang for the dollars that they can spend. The high cost of television means now that you have to go for the jugular, and in those circumstances, it would lead to even more negativity than we've experienced now."

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The World

Even the French Hate This Strike

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY

TRANSPORTATION strikes are an annoying fact of life in France, yet most people sympathize with the strikers when the subways shut down or truckers block the highways. After all, truck drivers and railway workers don't make much money, and employers seldom penalize workers for not showing up during transit strikes, so it's easy to wish the strikers well.

But the renowned Gallic sang-froid was severely tested last week by a strike by pilots at Air France, the state-owned airline, just days before the nation plays host to the World Cup, the World Series of soccer.

The pilots, whose average annual salary of \$123,000 makes them better paid than their counterparts at other major European carriers like Lufthansa and British Airways, were protesting a management plan to trim their pay by an average of \$26,000 over the next three to five years, and replace the income with stock options.

With Air France, the official carrier for the World Cup, able to fly only a fraction of its schedule, the French public was outraged, for the first time in years, by what many saw as greedy pilots. A poll published by Paris-Match last week showed that only 47 percent of those polled supported holding a transportation strike during the World Cup. In December 1995, 62 percent of those surveyed sympathized with striking rail and transport workers; in November 1996, 74 percent supported striking truck drivers.

A Christmas Present

"I feel sad and almost ashamed," said Interior Minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement as negotiators were trying to reach a settlement before the games kick off on Wednesday.

Mr. Chevènement and the Socialist Prime Minister, Lionel Jospin, were elected a year ago by voters who never forgave Mr. Jospin's conservative predecessor, Alain Juppé, for trying to cut the pension benefits of the rail and transit workers in 1995 as part of an unpopular Government austerity plan to pre-

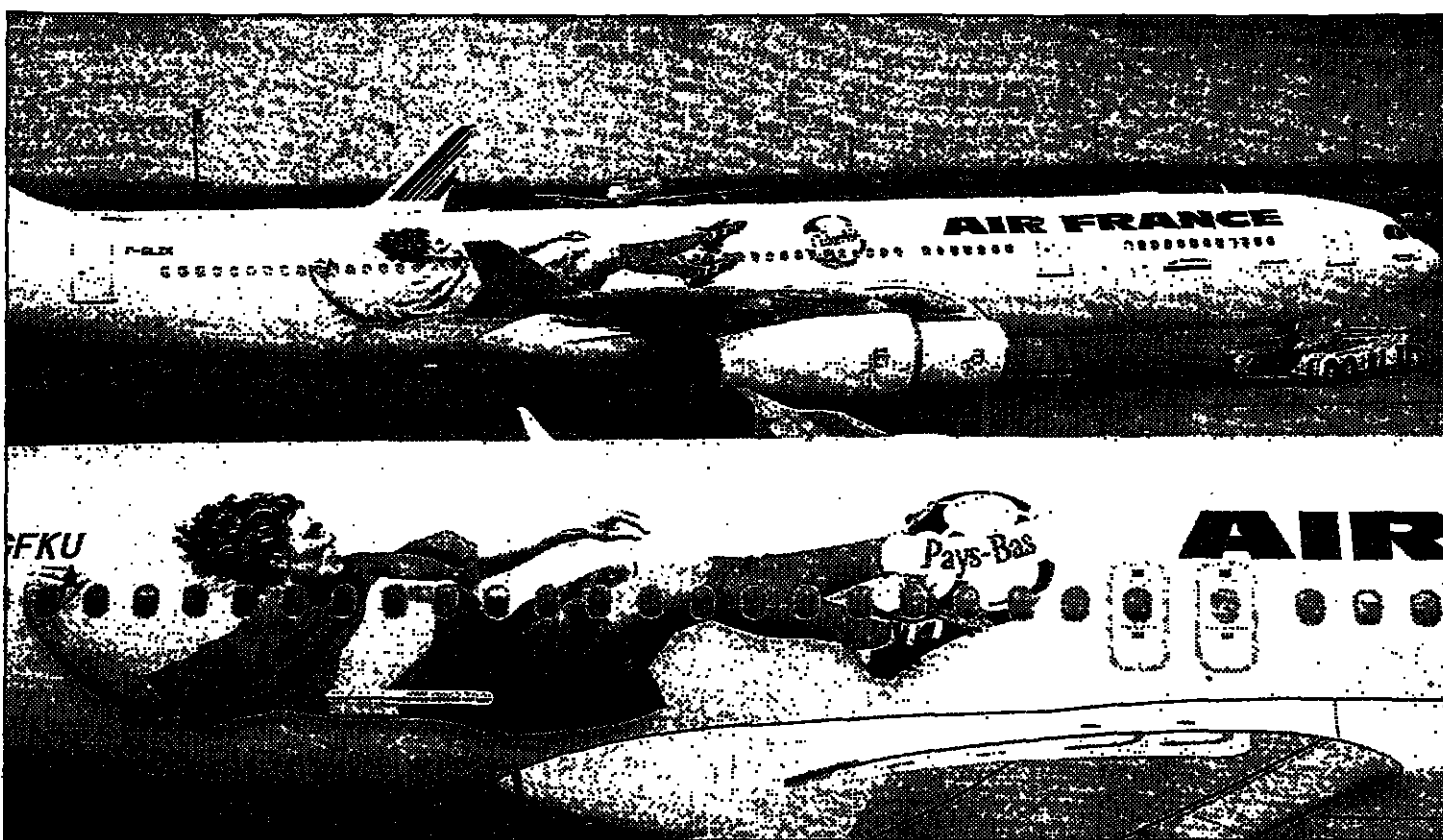


Agence France Presse

Jean-Claude Corbet, pilots union leader.

pare for the coming single European currency. When strikers shut down rail and mass transit networks, the country was paralyzed, but with Christmas approaching many workers were just as happy to back the strikers and stay home.

This time things were different. The irony of a Socialist-led Government criticizing strikers is only one of many contradictions in the latest episode in France's struggle to pull



Air France planes, with images of soccer players, sat idle last week during a strike. The World Cup is to begin there on Wednesday.

its cosseted welfare-state economy into the 21st century.

Mr. Chevènement even had to deny rumors that he was considering calling in the French equivalent of the National Guard to replace the strikers the way President Reagan replaced striking American air traffic controllers in the early 1980's.

The French feel as strongly about soccer as they do about social justice. Taxpayers put up \$450 million for a new stadium in Paris for the World Cup, and Air France planes have been splashed with bright color pictures of players from 32 countries. Buses in Paris display welcome signs in many languages, and special trains have been arranged to transport fans and players among the 10 cities in which the 64 games will be played.

France's national honor is at stake, the authorities keep reminding people. No American-style private-sector improvisation, à la Atlanta during the last Olympics and Denver during the 1994 World Cup, would do for the glory of France.

With a sense that the eyes of the world were on them, many French felt indignation when transportation unions started in with business as usual — by trying to hold up employers for ransom just when their work was most needed.

The pilots were not the only ones on the

picket lines, though truck drivers, who shut down the country's roads in 1997 and the year before to get higher wages, promised they wouldn't think of inconveniencing their fellow citizens during the World Cup, which ends on July 12.

A union representing 30 percent of the engineers for the state railway network called a strike to begin on the eve of the Cup opening. Conductors struck and disrupted rail traffic around the country on Friday. Public transportation in Lyons, where five games will be played, was shut down by a strike on Tuesday, and workers on the Paris municipal transportation system threatened another for this week.

Suspicious of Stocks

But it was the pilots who bore the brunt of public resentment.

The French are notoriously suspicious of people who are better off than they are, to the point of making anonymous telephone calls to Finance Ministry inspectors to tip them off to people with lavish life styles (one reason why owners of luxury homes in Paris often hide them behind dilapidated building facades).

So it was difficult to muster much sympathy for the well-paid pilots, who after all were not striking for better wages but demanding

cash instead of stock options as part of their salaries when Air France is partly privatized later this year.

The airline said it needed to cut its annual payroll by \$84 million to make itself more competitive in the European market, but many French regard the stock market as a sort of untrustworthy gambling casino. As elsewhere in Europe, there is great resistance here to the idea of supplementing state pensions with the private investment plans that make union pension funds such big players in the stock market in America.

Nevertheless, Transportation Minister Jean-Claude Gaysot, a member of the Communist Party, rallied against the pilots. "France, the company and the World Cup must not be held hostage," he told Parliament as pressure mounted on both the Government and the strikers to settle. "We must negotiate and we must break this logjam."

Even Le Canard enchaîné, a left-wing satirical newspaper, lost patience with the pilots.

"Their maneuvering a week from the Cup, with thousands of passengers about to pour into the country, could easily be mistaken for blackmail," the newspaper wrote, pointing out that the pilots also showed little gratitude for the \$3.4 billion taxpayers pumped into Air France during its money-losing years to keep it going and safeguard the pilots' jobs.

Naïveté at the C.I.A.

Every Nation's Just Another U.S.

By TIM WEINER

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI had it right: never assume the other guy will never do something you would never do. Too bad Machiavelli never worked for the Central Intelligence Agency.

The world might be less dangerous than it is today had the C.I.A. and its sister intelligence services foreseen India's nuclear tests last month. Armed with that foresight, the United States might have been able to forestall a test, as it did back in 1995, and thus prevent an arms race in one of the planet's least pacific places.

A report last week by retired Adm. David E. Jeremiah, a former vice-chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, blamed the failure on systemic flaws in the way the intelligence community gathers and handles information, trains its thousands of analysts and commands its \$27-billion-a-year empire.

But underlying those failures, Admiral Jeremiah said, was a classic American cultural assumption: "This 'everybody thinks like us' mind-set."

The "underlying mind-set" was that India "would behave as we behave," he said. "We should have been much more aggressive in thinking through how the other guy thought."

They Couldn't Possibly

Instead, he said, American analysts decided that the newly elected Hindu nationalist political party, the B.J.P., couldn't possibly be serious when it campaigned on a nuclear weapons platform. Westerners saw good reasons for India to eschew testing and therefore thought Indians must understand their own best interests the same way.

Intelligence professionals have a name for this kind of thinking: mirror-imaging. It is considered one of the most basic mistakes in the spy manual. "Mirror-imaging — projecting your thought process or value system onto someone else — is one of the greatest threats to objective intelligence analysis," a senior C.I.A. officer, Frank Watanabe, wrote last year in *Studies in Intelligence*, the agency's in-house journal. "Avoid mirror-imaging at all costs," he advised.

Failing to follow such counsel led the United States to believe that Japan would never attack Pearl Harbor and that Saddam Hussein would never invade Kuwait.

But no analyst in the Government imagined India testing a nuclear bomb. "The amazing thing was the unanimity," a senior State Department official said ruefully. "There was nobody anywhere — no voices — saying 'Watch out!'"

As Mr. Watanabe notes, "When everyone agrees on an issue, something is probably wrong."

There is something peculiarly American about the trap of mirror-imaging. Americans overseas like foreigners to speak, dress, eat and entertain as Americans do. They may well believe that everybody else thinks as they do. The whole world buys Big Macs — so the ideas must come along with them, like a side of fries. This way of thinking meant that, last month, the United States



Government looked down at India from its spy satellites — and saw the United States.

What does this say about the state of American intelligence? First, mirror-imaging filled a void. America had few or no spies in India reporting on the nuclear program. So its analysts had to think without the benefit of facts.

Second, the C.I.A. does not always teach people to think straight, said Mark Lowenthal, a former staff director of the House intelligence committee. "They don't do a lot of training," he said.

"They say, 'Congratulations, you're the Mall analyst, have a nice day.' They need to spend some time on thinking about how you think. Very few analysts come by it naturally and almost none are taught to do it. Crisis-driven as they are, they don't have a lot of time to step back and say: 'Have I missed something? Is this the right way of thinking?'"

We vs. I

Third, group think grinds top-secret papers into intellectual pulp, said Angelo Codevilla, a former senior staff member of the Senate intelligence committee. "Our intelligence community thinks in herds — 'Stay close. Don't get out ahead. Don't

be thought of as crazy,'" he said. "There is a tremendous lack of diversity of mind. The most typical phrase in an intelligence estimate is 'We believe' — the corporate belief, the office view, calibrated to satisfy — not 'I think.'"

Fourth, "we have a brain-power problem" in American intelligence, said Robert Steele, a former C.I.A. officer.

"The average analyst has 2 to 5 years' experience," Mr. Steele said. "They haven't been to the countries they're analyzing. They don't have the language, the historical knowledge, the in-country residence time or the respect of their private-sector peers."

In its defense, the C.I.A. was not the only outfit in Washington that had a mirror where its crystal ball should be. So had the White House, the Pentagon and the State Department. The agency's reporting on Pakistan's subsequent nuclear tests was precise and precise. But Admiral Jeremiah found the C.I.A. misread India's nuclear ambitions because it was short on insight, expertise, training and leadership — a strange state of affairs for an intelligence agency created to be the deepest think tank in the world. The agency, the admiral found, was not thinking clearly, and so deceived itself.

The Islamic Bomb

Continued from page 9

export its technology at a future point, the reasons would most likely have nothing to do with religion.

"Why do people talk about an Islamic bomb?" Pakistan's Minister of Information, Mushahid Hussain, said in an interview with the German news magazine *Der Spiegel*. "This is a Pakistani bomb. In the case of India, you don't talk of a vegetarian bomb."

Foad Ajami, author of "The Dream Palace of the Arabs," agrees. "Bombs are not devout," he said. "Bombs in Russia are not Orthodox bombs. Bombs in India are not Hindu bombs. And bombs in Pakistan are not Islamic."

So why does the label persist? One reason is the utterances of Muslims themselves, who over the years have publicly declared the need for an Islamic bomb.

Gen. Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, who ousted Mr. Bhutto and had him hanged, condemned the rest of the world in 1986 for branding Pakistan's bomb Islamic but in the same breath promoted the notion. "Why must they call Pakistan's bomb, supposing we have it, an Islamic bomb?" he said. "You can see the mentality. They are fearful that if an Islamic country such as Pakistan acquires this technology they will spread it. In fact, if the Islamic world possessed this technology, it means that 900 million Muslims possess advanced technology. Hence comes the aggressive campaign against Pakistan and the aggressive talk about the Pakistani nuclear bomb. It is our right to obtain the technology. And when we acquire this technology, the entire Islamic world will possess it with us."

That same year, in the aftermath of American air attacks on Libya, its leader, Muammar al-Qaddafi, declared that the Arab world should become one "homeland," possessing missiles and even nuclear bombs. And a few years later, Iran's Deputy President, Ataollah Mohajerani — now the Minister of Islamic Guidance and Culture and a close ally of President Mohammed Khatami — declared that because Israel has nuclear facilities, Muslim countries needed them too.

Israel's Fears

Another reason the notion persists is that Israel and its supporters have long found it convenient to demonize Islamic states and movements whose leaders find it convenient to assert religion-based claims to Jerusalem. For the Israelis, the idea that Islamic fervor could go nuclear provides a justification for maintaining its own unacknowl-

edged nuclear arsenal.

Israel justified its bombing of Iraq's nuclear weapons facility in the desert near Tuwaitha in 1981 in part by declaring that it needed to destroy an "Islamic bomb" before it was built, even though Iraq's President, Saddam Hussein, was the most secular of leaders and never had much affection for his Islamic brothers.

The tension over the prospect of an Islamic bomb continues today.

In Islamabad last week, Iran's Foreign Minister, Kamal Kharrazi, said Muslims worldwide were hap-

Is there a Hindu bomb? A Russian Orthodox bomb?

py about the Pakistani explosions. "Muslims now feel more confident that Pakistan's nuclear capability would play a role of deterrence to Israel's nuclear capability," he said. (By Thursday, after Israel's Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, condemned the visit, Mr. Kharrazi had shifted his tone; he told a disarmament conference in Geneva that "this was one genie that was much better to have stayed confined in a bottle.")

Over the long run, the most serious impact of the nuclear explosions by Pakistan — and India — within the Islamic world may be to revive the lust of rivals among the Islamic nations to possess their own nuclear weapons.

Pakistan is, after all, a peer of a number of Middle Eastern countries with grand ambitions and an even grander sense of their place in the world's history — Iranians who identify with ancient Persia, Iraqis who remember Nebuchadnezzar, Egyptians who hark back to the Pharaohs and Syrians proud of the ancient glories of Damascus. All can ask: Who are these upstart Pakistanis to think they lead the Islamic world? What about us?

Officially, Egypt has underscored that the recent nuclear tests prove just how urgent it is to make the Middle East a nuclear-free zone. But some Egyptian commentators implied that Arab countries made a mistake in signing on to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

"Nuclear capacity has become the guaranteed deterrent to defend national rights and the right of self-determination," wrote Salama Ahmed Salama, a columnist for the semi-official newspaper *Al-Ahram*. She said nothing about Islam.

Wasn't
fornia

Good

The World

A Global Divide on Abortion Splits Poor From Rich

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

IT has become an article of faith among those who oppose abortion in the United States that promoting abortion anywhere else, particularly in the world's poorest countries, is tantamount to an attack on the cultures of those countries. It is a new argument from the conservative right, but it echoes charges that the radical left used to make, to the effect that family planning programs targeted at the third world were a kind of neo-imperialistic genocide.

A statistical look around the world shows that if cultural sensitivities are reflected in laws about abortion, there is a remarkable divide between richer countries and poorer ones where abortion and its effects are concerned. But other statistics demonstrate that the pattern of legality does not reflect how women in those societies choose to act.

Unequal Death Rates

In the global south, where abortion laws are the most restrictive, abortion rates are still quite high; deaths from abortion are much higher there than elsewhere, because the abortions tend to be unsafe. The industrial countries of the global north are almost universally less restrictive in their abortion laws. They also have the lowest rates of abortion-related deaths.

Of about 20 million unsafe — sometimes legal, but more often illegal — abortions estimated to take place each year worldwide, 90 percent occur in developing

countries, according to the World Health Organization. Of the 80,000 deaths that result, 95 percent are in poor nations. That number does not include women who die of miscarriages due to health problems or poor prenatal care; such data do not exist.

The anti-colonial case has been made forcefully by Representative Christopher H. Smith, the New Jersey Republican who has blocked American payments to the United Nations with an amendment denying money to any organization that lobbies for liberalized abortion laws in any country. Mr. Smith, a supporter of international child survival programs, says helping poor children, not preventing them from being born, should be the priority of foreign aid.

His legislation, which President Clinton has vowed to veto when it reaches his desk, has created alarm among family planning and women's health organizations, who see its bar to advocating abortion as a challenge to free speech and a chilling factor that would reduce the amount of money going to all types of population work, including contraception, in the poorest countries, where they think it is needed most.

Mr. Smith said in a telephone interview that he drew a distinction between contraception and abortion. "We have made it clear we would put more money into family planning," he said. "We offered the Administration \$100 million dollars more in family planning aid if they would get out of the abortion business." He added: "Family planning is preventive and its use is up to the individual. But those of us who respect the lives of unborn children recognize that whether it be dismemberment, abortion or chemical poisoning, abortions, legal or illegal, are violence against children everywhere."

Family planning organizations and women's health groups do not argue that abortion should be encouraged as a method of birth control. But they do argue for less restrictive laws in many countries on the ground that such laws would cut deaths. They also say family planning and community health groups in Africa, Asia and Latin America have to deal with the results of botched and life-threatening abortions, sometimes by completing

crisis pregnancy centers here, where women who have difficulties can be helped in many ways."

Advocates of family planning respond that the overall effect of his proposals could be to harm the ability of mothers to care for their families. "Public health experts will be the first to tell you that child survival is most enhanced by enabling women to space their childbearing," said Gloria Feldt, president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, the oldest and largest family planning organization in the world.

Dr. Nafis Sadik, executive director of the United Nations Population Fund, said the argument that family planners from richer nations are coercing the women of the developing world should be turned upside down. The real coercion in many places, she said, "is that women are being forced to have children by their families or by social pressures."

"Now that women are getting choices, people seem to be starting to object," said Dr. Sadik, a physician from Pakistan. "It's being made out that a woman wants to be pregnant all the time. That's not what all the detailed surveys and research show. Most women don't want to be serially pregnant. They want to have, if not two children, maybe four children, not eight children — and they don't want to have them every year."

Because family planning services are not available to millions of women who want them — more than 350 million in the developing world, according to surveys — they turn to abortion, even where illegal, and will continue to do so as a last resort, experts say. "Contrary to public belief, most of the unsafe illegal abortions take place among married women," Dr. Sadik said.

Where laws are most restrictive, women still terminate pregnancies, even if that is illegal. But death rates are quite high.

the process of clearing the womb — a procedure that would put them on the wrong side of American law if Mr. Smith's proposal were adopted.

Mr. Smith argues that he would rather spend money on programs like immunizations, nutritional health for mothers and other forms of health care that would help children in developing societies survive, rather than aiding organizations that are associated with abortion. When asked about the problems posed by unsafe abortion, he said, "We need positive alternatives like the 4,000

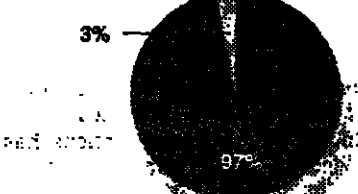
North and South: Different Standards Around the World

Only five members of the United Nations currently prohibit induced abortion even to save the life of the mother. The remaining 185 permit it under some circumstances. Here is a comparison of conditions under which nations permit abortion, with a look at the incidence of safe and unsafe abortions worldwide and the incidence of deaths from abortions. Figures reflect the situation in May 1998.

Circumstances Under Which Abortion is Permitted

Percent of countries that permit abortion under certain conditions.

TO SAVE THE WOMAN'S LIFE



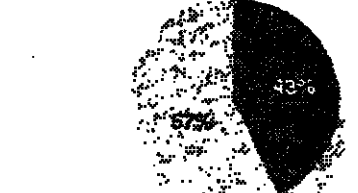
TO PRESERVE THE WOMAN'S PHYSICAL HEALTH



TO PRESERVE THE WOMAN'S MENTAL HEALTH



FOR RAPE OR INCEST



WHEN THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF FETAL IMPAIRMENT



FOR ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL REASONS



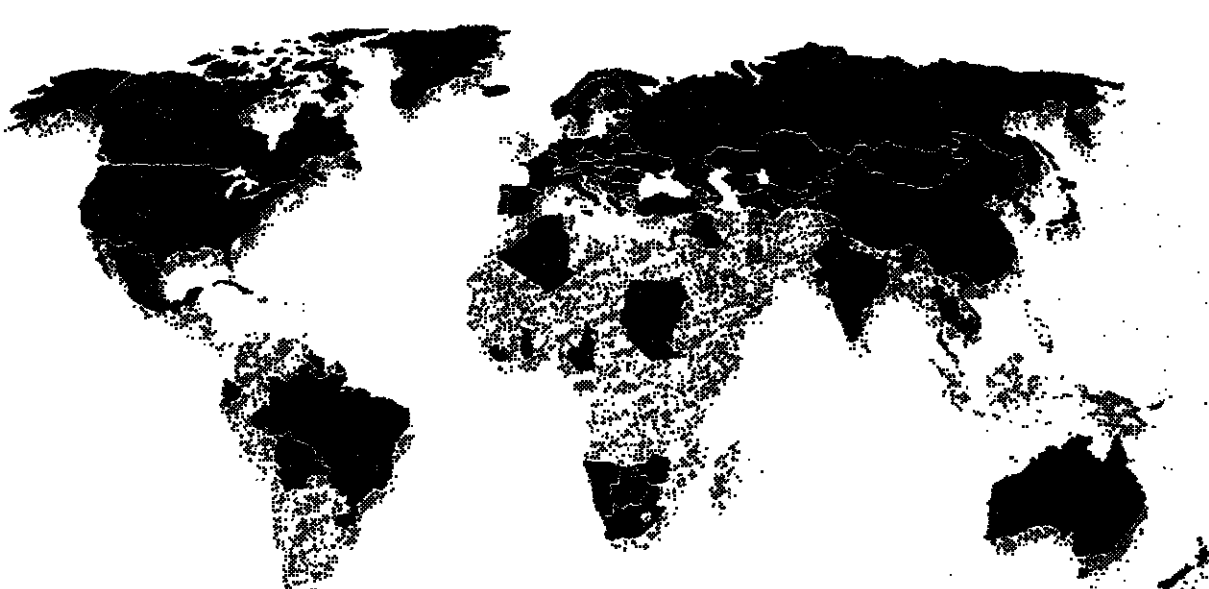
UPON REQUEST



Nations where abortion is permitted to save the woman's life; the five exceptions are identified.



Nations where abortion is permitted in cases of rape or incest.

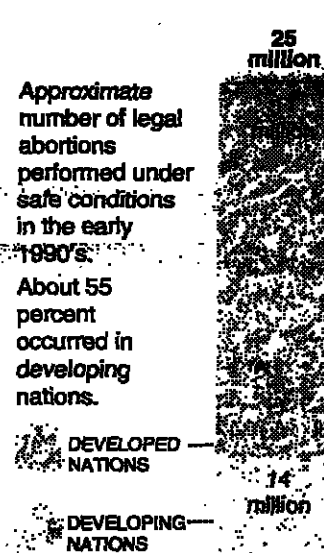


Nations where abortion is permitted upon request.

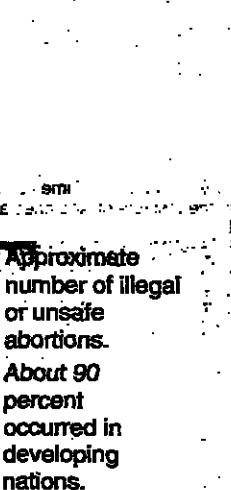


Safe and Unsafe

LEGAL AND SAFE ABORTIONS



UNSAFE ABORTIONS*

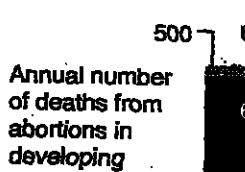


Deaths Rates

DEVELOPED NATIONS



DEVELOPING NATIONS



*Unsafe abortion is defined as being undertaken either by persons lacking the necessary skills or in an environment lacking the minimal medical standards of both.

Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat

ECONOMY

From Lab to Patient: Pitching Prescription Drugs

By DAVID J. MORROW

THE advertisement seemed innocuous enough. A few minutes into the March 17 episode of "Home Improvement," the TV screen flashed scenes of men and women rubbing their eyes as a female voice sang the praises of a new brand of prescription eye drops.

"It seems like you have tried just about everything," the voice cooed, "but now there is Patanol." Not only did Patanol, developed by Alcon Laboratories, soothe "itchy allergy eyes for eight hours," the ad assured viewers, but only a few people "experience side effects, like a headache."

The Food and Drug Administration took one look at the commercial and asked Alcon to take it off the air, saying that some of its claims of effectiveness were exaggerated and that the side effects were played down.

But that hardly made Patanol exceptional. Of the 22 products that have been advertised on TV since last August, the F.D.A. has found problems with 11 commercials.

All of that only underscores what Federal regulators and the pharmaceutical industry have wrought in the last year: a bold experiment in directly marketing prescription drugs on TV to American consumers.

Ads like the one for Patanol are something of a yawner in the make-

believe world created by Madison Avenue, where lizards scheme to kill Budweiser frogs and half-naked superstars sell Nike shoes. But they are just the initial forays in what marketing experts believe will be a steady march toward the kind of aggressive, image-filled and patently manipulative advertising that so successfully sells Americans everything from cars to cosmetics to computer chips.

Last August, the F.D.A. relaxed its barriers to television ads, letting pharmaceutical companies identify their products by name and describe their purposes. Since then, drug makers have rolled out a record number of campaigns, both in print and on television. They are expected to shell out some \$350 million for television spots this year — almost three times what they spent just two years ago, according to I.M.S. Health, a consulting firm.

The best ads have worked their magic, making blockbusters of drugs like Schering-Plough's Claritin brand of antihistamines, which has grabbed 54 percent of its market.

And the industry, eager to cash in on life-style drugs aimed at aging baby boomers — products like Merck's Propecia for fighting baldness and Glaxo Wellcome's Zytan for kicking the tobacco habit — is certain to press the F.D.A. to loosen its guidelines when the agency completes a review of its policies this summer.



Nancy M. Ostrove of the Food and Drug Administration fears that prescription drug spots don't always say enough about risks.

So far, the F.D.A., for all its storied fastidiousness about protecting consumers from dangerous medications, has taken a surprisingly wait-and-see attitude on advertising drugs.

"Advertising directly to consumers is one of the most successful movements ever in the pharmaceutical industry," said Neil Sweig, a pharmaceuticals analyst with Southeast Research Partners, a brokerage firm in Boca Raton, Fla. "It is the product of advertising executives all over America who want to sleep each night trying to figure out how to sell prescription drugs to the public without upsetting the apple cart at the F.D.A."

I won't be easy. The ads unleashed the last several months have prompted an outcry from doctors and consumer advocates, who fear that the commercials could confuse or mislead the public. Beyond the frequency of dubious claims, the critics contend that sales

pitches for prescription drugs often offer false hope and encourage people to march into their doctors' offices to demand prescriptions for drugs they know almost nothing about.

"A big problem with some consumer prescription drug ads is that they are so simplistic," said Dr. Gillian Shepherd, an allergist and clinical associate professor at New York Hospital Cornell Medical Center. "The ads make it seem like these drugs work on all people and in every case. It simply doesn't work that way."

For all of 1997, spending on consumer advertising for prescription drugs rose by 125 percent from the previous year, to \$107 million, at Bristol-Myers Squibb; by 76 percent, to \$122 million, at Merck, and by 57 percent, to \$156.6 million, at Glaxo Wellcome, the industry's biggest consumer advertiser.

By contrast, the growth in ad spending for pharmaceuticals as an industry has not been nearly as robust. Last year, the industry spent

\$3.2 billion in the United States promoting all its medications, up only 6 percent from 1996, according to Competitive Media Reporting, a unit of VNU N.V., a Dutch publisher.

Recently, the airwaves have been particularly busy with commercials for prescription drugs, perhaps because the industry senses that its freedom may not last. The F.D.A., as part of its review, could reverse course and enact new restrictions, though it is unlikely to do so.

So far, the public, though it has embraced the most heavily advertised drugs, has shown little interest in the debate. Yet consumer rights groups have been among the most vocal critics, with some urging a ban on TV ads.

"There have been a record number of new drugs introduced recently on the market," said Dr. Sidney M. Wolfe, executive director of the Public Citizen Health Research Group, a consumer advocacy group founded by Ralph Nader. The F.D.A., he said, had fallen behind in reviewing ads, so a lot of mistakes can get through. "The combination of a misled doctor and a misled patient," he said, "leads to the wrong prescription."

But even naysayers acknowledge that prescription-drug ads have the potential to benefit consumers, if, for example, they persuade them to go to the doctor's office. And that often happens. For example, Bristol-Myers Squibb's advertising campaign last year for Pravachol, its drug for cholesterol reduction and stroke prevention, urged consumers to see their physicians. And indeed, some 8.8 million people sought treatment last year for cholesterol-related therapies, up from 7.2 million in 1996, according to I.M.S. Health.

"Consumer prescription-drug campaigns are both a blessing and a curse," said Dr. Shepherd of New York Hospital Cornell Medical Center. "They are a blessing in that they increase awareness of a specialty, as with the antihistamines for allergies, for example. And the campaigns can bring patients into a doctor's office."

The curse? Patients often ask for drugs they don't need.

Doctors may not like patients to request a prescription drug they have seen on television, but, on the other hand, they're willing to discuss the pros and cons with them.

Of 3,000 doctors polled in the first quarter of this year by Scott-Levin, a pharmaceutical market-research firm in Newtown, Pa., 89 percent said they would discuss an advertised drug with a patient even if they thought the ad had been misleading. Such numbers make marketing executives salivate.

To no one's surprise, many pharmaceutical executives want to stretch the F.D.A.'s rules a little more. One sore spot is the agency's requirement that the highly technical language about risks and side effects that appear on a product's label also appear in some print ad copy.

They argue that such wording — including Merck's warning that its Propecia could interfere with the P.S.A. test for screening prostate cancer — often befuddles people.

"We are still evolving with how we do these commercials," said Mr. Lane of Bristol-Myers Squibb. "But the language with the warnings about the drugs needs to be more consumer-friendly. There's too much techno-jargon. That doesn't foster the kind of dialogue we want."

And for all the companies' current restraint, some advertising experts believe Americans may eventually see commercials mocking rival drugs, in marketing tussles similar to the famous battles between Pepsi and Coke or between Peter Pan and Jif peanut butter.

"We understand that we are not selling Lay's potato chips," said Mr. Schwatka of Grey Advertising. "Drugs are powerful stuff. But consumers are definitely going to be seeing more ads for prescription drugs. And they're going to be getting more information about those drugs. Information does not go backward. It only moves forward."

The Ghoul Pool: Morbid, Tasteless and Popular

LAURA PEDERSEN-PIETERSEN

THE all-media wake for Frank Sinatra and the countdown that preceded it took me back to April 1984, when I first dipped my toe into the ghoulish pool.

As a novice floor clerk in the capricious options trading pit of the American Stock Exchange, I was still learning hand signals when one of the traders tore off his Walkman earphones and yelled: "I'm losing my shirt! What a long shot!"

Shirts were being lost several times a day, so I didn't give his outburst a second thought. But his next line stopped me cold: "How can Marvin Gaye be dead? I mean, what about Helen Hayes? She's 83!"

Being all of 18, three weeks off the Greyhound from upstate New York, with six summers on a farm constituting my entire work experience, I looked to someone else to explain. "For almost 10 years Dave's been betting on the actress to take a dirt nap," said a specialist in Motorola options. "And then, out of left field, Gaye gets himself shot to death by his father."

"Meaning?" I asked, still confused. "Meaning that at 42, Gaye was half Hayes's age and so the payoff is going to be really big."

You've heard about the office football pool, and the baseball Rotisserie league. But incredibly tasteless as it seems, countless workplaces are also offering the dead pool, a funereal game of wagering on when celebrities will meet their demise.

Neatly pairing two of America's prime obsessions — fame and death — the game is a variation on your typical water-cooler sport. Only instead of betting on scores, players toss pennies against death's door.

To beat the odds, poolers scour the tabloids and gossip columns for hints about their candidates' continued viability. The aged or the terminally ill don't score the ghoulish competitor many points, but who could have foreseen the recent untimely exits of

Sonny Bono, Chris Farley or John Denver?

As appalling as betting on the prospect of death may be, wagering in the twilight zone is appealing to a growing number of Americans — if the rise in the number of Web sites dedicated to the subject is any gauge.

Dead-pool playbooks vary, but the most common version requires contestants to compile a portfolio of 10 celebrities they expect to die and then submit it with an entrance fee by the beginning of each year. Come Dec. 31, the most prescient player wins. Deaths — and celebrity — are typically confirmed by an Associated Press obituary. Without that, you're nothing.

In some games, only one player can hold rights to a given celebrity; others require a payoff upon each celebrity's passing, rather than a once-a-year accounting. In many pools, the return is far greater for choices with lower odds of mortality, which is what so troubled trader Dave about Marvin Gaye.

Death pooling has been around since the 19th century. Guy de Maupassant, in his 1885 novel "Bel-Ami," wrote of a Parisian parlor game in which players drew up lists of doomed academicians and their possible successors. In America, the pools can be traced to Damon Runyon's Manhattan of the 1920's and 1930's. As recently as 1988, Clint Eastwood's last Dirty Harry movie not only featured such a game, but also took its name from it: "The Dead Pool."

But it was on Wall Street — where betting is like breathing — where the ghoulish pool found a permanent home. "The death pools have been around as long as the exchanges, because during market lulls traders sit around for hours looking at one another in utter boredom," said Tony DeMartino, who worked at the Amex for 40 years starting in 1950 and is now a celebrity photographer. "They do stuff like this to stay awake."

Just as laptop computer technology has enabled day trading and desktop publishing to flourish, so the

Web browser has brought ghoulish pools to life for the average investor.

It is now possible to play such diverse — and tacky — venues as the Las Atwater Invitational Dead Pool, Not Your Mother's Dead Pool, Dewey's Death Pool, Chalk Outlines and Dead Club, to name but a handful.

The Atwater Invitational, named after the take-no-prisoners Republican campaign strategist who died at 40 of brain cancer in 1981 (http://stiffs.com), was started that year by Zachariah Love, a venue-booker in Los Angeles. Mr. Love moved the game to the Web in 1996, where it now has almost 800 players paying an \$11 entrance fee for a shot at the \$1,500 annual prize.

Mr. Love reports that Frank Sinatra, when he died May 14 at the age of 82, was on 447 players' lists. Though that pool is closed for 1998, a secondary, or "Lee Jr.," pool can be entered monthly for \$5 to compete for a \$300 award.

"Look, it's not like we're killing people," Mr. Love said. "The site has to do with the twisted way people relate to fame and the way they defy celebrities. Remember how the world went insane over Princess Di?" (Not surprisingly, at 36, she seemed to be on no one's list when she took that fatal midnight ride last August in Paris.)

Speaking for himself, but perhaps for many other pool picks as well, Milton Berle, who turns 90 next month, said last week that "these pools are all well and good — as long as I'm not a part of it."

THE most successful player in the Atwater pool, winning more than \$500 for each of the last two years, is Julie Horowitz, development coordinator for the Los Angeles Commission on Assault Against Women. Her secret: "I take notes all year long in the back of my date book and then use it to create the list of 10 names at the end of the year. It's a game of research."

Ms. Horowitz, 34, described the game as "totally addictive" even though "some people I work with are

horrified by it and think I'm really sick." While colleagues may not actually play the game, she said, "they sort of get obsessed by it, too."

Interest in Internet versions has swelled so much that some pools specialize in individual celebrities. Several months ago, Michael Moore, the operator of Tregoire's 1998 Dead Pool (http://www.flash.net/mmoores72/deadpool.htm) spun off a Sinatra-only site.

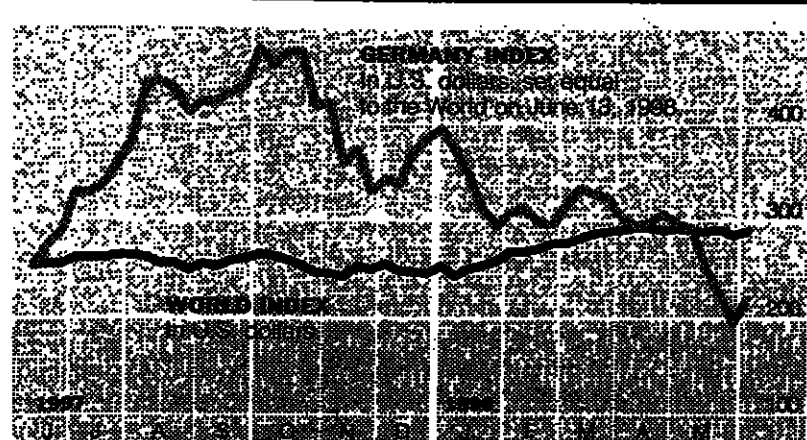
Mr. Moore has just assembled a pool dedicated to Bob Hope, who is 85, and received 300 sign-ups the first week. And that was before the enormous plug the topic got on Friday, when the Associated Press accidentally posted its advance obituary of Mr. Hope on its Web site. On the House floor, Representative Bob Stump, Republican of Arizona, erroneously announced Mr. Hope's death, spurring other news groups to do so, too.

A Washington connection is not new to dead pools. Melody Rutherford, founder of the Celebrity Death Pool, which is based in San Francisco, said one E-mail entry came directly from the Senate floor. The pool (www.melodyr.com/celebrity-deathpool) — as well as offshoots she dedicates to politicians and musicians — is open year-round and charges no entrance fee, nor does it offer any monetary awards. Ms. Rutherford said. "Just your name on the winner's page and bad karma," she added.

To indicate how quickly attitudes have shifted on the subject of death — or of good taste — Ms. Rutherford recalled that when she first asked Yahoo, the Web indexer, to list her site three years ago, executives said the content wasn't appropriate. Today, Yahoo lists 18 ghoulish pools, including Ms. Rutherford's, which gets more than 1,000 hits a week.

As for Dave, my disgruntled Amex floor trader, the First Lady of the American Stage was in no hurry to accommodate him. Helen Hayes took her final bow nine years later, with dignity, at 92.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuarial World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS				IN LOCAL CURRENCY			
Country	Index	Week % Chg.	YTD Rank	Week % Chg.	YTD Rank	Index	% Chg.
Australia	185.52	-6.6	26	-7.3	21	3.86	205.40
Austria	244.09	-0.5	18	29.1	8	1.51	224.87
Belgium	363.74	-2.7	4	42.9	4	2.24	328.04
Brazil	228.65	4.2	1	-4.1	19	2.11	484.89
Britain	384.05	1.6	10	15.8	12	2.84	348.01
Canada	238.42	-1.2	19	12.2	15	1.58	252.04
Denmark	503.08	-0.2	17	12.4	14	1.31	462.15
Finland	434.80	2.0	9	56.1	1	1.86	491.65
France	335.41	3.9	2	40.2	5	1.88	312.81
Germany	303.71	2.3	7	32.4	6	1.19	279.96
Hong Kong	253.20	-5.4	24	-29.1	26	6.26	251.92
Indonesia	32.46	-6.7	27	-50.9	28	3.05	232.01
Ireland	514.79	-0.2	16	28.2	10	1.91	509.78
Italy	170.03	2.4	5	44.5	3	1.27	221.71
Japan	80.67	-2.3	21	-5.9	20	1.00	79.10
Malaysia	138.55	-8.0	29	-15.5	23	3.00	213.28
Mexico	1,484.03	1.5	11	-17.7	25	1.71	14,206.33
Netherlands	526.86	1.0	13	28.5	9	1.92	480.58
New Zealand	63.53	-6.3	25	-16.9	24	4.63	65.71
Norway	317.58	1.2	12	0.6	18	1.96	321.03
Philippines	85.69	-2.6	22	8.0	16	1.24	167.30
Singapore	157.22	-7.7	28	-30.2	27	2.47	123.04
South Africa	279.33	-3.5	23	5.3	17	2.75	313.60
Spain	393.39	3.3	3	44.7	2	1.71	448.68
Sweden	607.27	2.4	6	29.3	7	1.87	700.80
Switzerland	412.79	0.9	14	21.1	11	1.09	377.29
Thailand	16.75	-8.7	30	-13.2	22	9.54	28.14
United States	454.42	2.1	8	14.6	13	1.41	454.42

COMPOSITE INDICES			
Europe	366.16	2.0	26.7
Pacific Basin	96.20	-3.2	-9.2
Europe/Pacific	208.72	0.5	-14.5
World	289.83	1.3	14.2

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1998 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

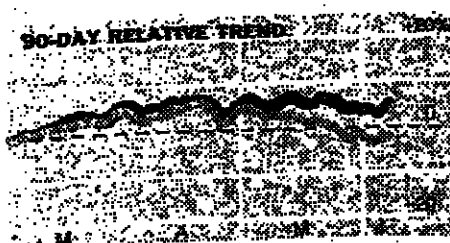
CURRENCIES

Exchange rate	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	139.75	138.90	+0.61	114.30
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.7745	1.7855	-0.62	1.7248
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.4577	1.4567	+0.07	1.3830
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.6353	1.6316	+0.23	1.6317

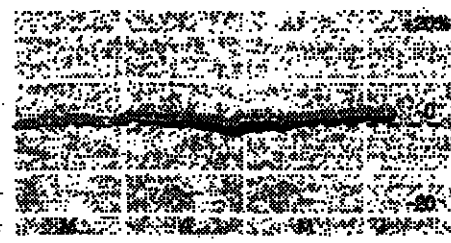
Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

June 1-5: U.S. Stocks Rally on Steady Economy; Russia and Asia Remain Turbulent

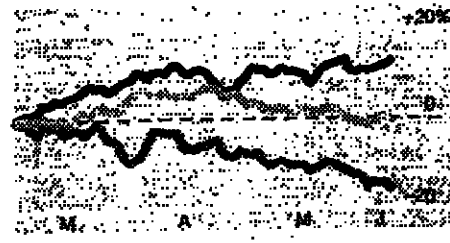
PRICES	
DOMESTIC EQUITIES	
Broad market	Up 2.11%
S. & P. 500 index	1,113.86
Blue chips	Up 1.55%
Dow 30 Industrials	9,037.71
Small capitalization	Down 0.52%
Russell 2000 index	454.24



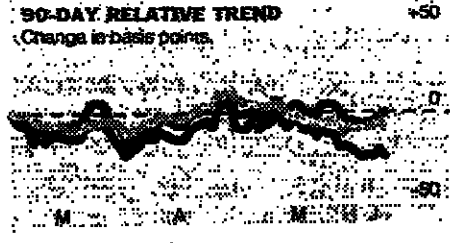
DOMESTIC BONDS	
Treasuries	Up 0.04%
Ryan Labs. Total Return	219.52
Municipals	Up 0.10%
Bond Buyer index	124.03
Corporates	Up 0.01%
Merrill Lynch Master Index	987.86



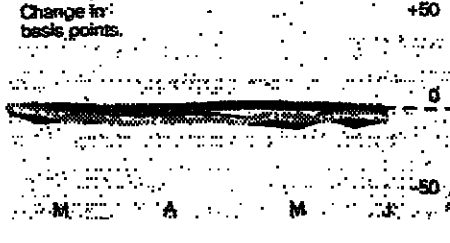
AROUND THE WORLD	
European stocks	Up 1.97%
F.T.-Actuaries Europe	366.16
Asian stocks	Down 3.15%
F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	96.20
Gold	Up 0.44%
New York cash price	\$293.60



YIELDS	
BONDS	
Long bonds	5.78%
30-year Treasuries	Down 2 basis pts.
Notes	5.57%
2-year Treasuries	Up 5 basis pts.
Municipals	5.22%
Bond Buyer index	Unchanged



OTHER INVESTMENTS	
Money market funds	5.02%
Taxable average	Up 4 basis pts.
Bank C.D.'s	4.97%
1-year small savers	Unchanged
Stocks	1.44%
S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Down 3 b.p.



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream; Goldman, Sachs; IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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Remembering Robert Kennedy

When Robert Kennedy's admirers try to explain what made him special, they invariably describe him as a man who changed. Instead of becoming cynical or burned out with time and trouble, they say, Mr. Kennedy became less calculating, more passionate, more sensitive to social injustice. Even Americans who are not old enough to remember him must feel nostalgic at the idea of a man for whom politics was a catalyst for moral growth.

Robert Kennedy, who died 30 years ago this month, is a historical figure untrammelled by history. He was murdered while campaigning for the Presidency at the age of 42, after a career as Attorney General and Senator that lasted less than eight years. He did not leave behind any notable achievement that could have fixed his image to a particular deed. His legacy was a Presidency that never was, a blank slate on which people could draw their visions of a more perfect union.

Like his brother John, Robert Kennedy impressed himself so firmly on the national consciousness that Americans are able to believe in two competing versions of him at the same time. The good Robert Kennedy was a lifelong foe of organized crime. The bad R.F.K. apparently tried to cover up his brother's affair with a mob leader's girlfriend, and probably knew that organized crime figures were working with the Central Intelligence Agency to assassinate Fidel Castro. It is not surprising that this anniversary is bringing forth a rash of biographies in which he is described as a hero to both the left and the right.

But Robert Kennedy's personal story reaches so close to the national core that it may live on as

long as the country does. It is a version of the old legend of a knight who purifies himself through great suffering to prepare for a holy quest. Burdened by grief over his brother's assassination, and perhaps a fear that his own complicated relationships with the mob might have somehow led to it, Mr. Kennedy searched for a purpose that could transcend regular politics, and that cause became racial justice.

The Attorney General who wiretapped Martin Luther King's phone became a Presidential candidate who lectured college students about the unfairness of a draft that took poor blacks to war and left middle-class whites to study in comfort. The great tales about the later Robert Kennedy, the one who had changed and been purified, were almost always about poverty and race. "What the hell would you do if you found out that God was black?" he asked white students at a South African university in 1966.

There is no shortage of Kennedy contrarians who scoff at the legend, who point out that the Robert Kennedy who was supposed to be about people, not politics, had no qualms about allowing Eugene McCarthy to take the risks as an anti-war candidate, and then big-footing it into the race once Lyndon Johnson announced his retirement. The record of John Kennedy's Administration has taken a beating on many fronts, and may be tarnished further. But the idea of what happened to Robert Kennedy during the last five years of his life supercedes all that. His legend says that the end of America's own story must be a joining of black and white, but that this great purpose cannot be achieved without enormous struggle and pain. That is the gift of his un-lived Presidency.

An Undiluted Agenda for China

President Clinton's visit to China later this month is inextricably entangled in an array of political and security problems that will shadow his trip. Mr. Clinton will need to be sure that he does not gloss over the hard issues in his eagerness to improve relations.

Mr. Clinton, for instance, must not push security matters to the margin when he engages the Chinese leadership on commercial opportunities. The Administration's handling of technology transfers to China has been sloppy, producing at least one potentially serious breach of rocket guidance information. Expanding trade is fine, but not at the cost of sensitive military secrets.

China's own transfer of nuclear technology to Pakistan needs to be addressed. Without the Chinese assistance, Pakistan would not have been able to develop the weapons it tested last month. China's previous promises to prevent the sale of nuclear goods to Pakistan have proved unreliable. Unless China now plays a more constructive role in South Asia, it will be difficult to prevent a nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan.

There may also be a temptation to sidestep China's efforts to influence the 1996 Presidential election with illicit campaign contributions. A Democratic Party contributor, Johnny Chung, has told Federal investigators he donated money provided by a Chinese aerospace company that is controlled by the Chinese military. Armed with that knowledge, Mr. Clinton cannot accept China's bland denials of any attempt to interfere in the American electoral system.

Human rights is another important front. Here, too, Mr. Clinton should not shy away from challenging Chinese conduct. Contrary to demands from Congress that he omit his scheduled stop in Tiananmen Square, Mr. Clinton should go there and affirm America's continuing support for democratic ideals.

Mr. Clinton can far better honor the memory of those massacred in the square nine years ago by visiting, rather than boycotting, the site. Hundreds were killed, but their cause remains alive, thanks to the courage of a few famous dissidents and of thousands of lesser-known Chinese, many still serving prison sentences for their beliefs.

One of the more important powers of a traveling President is the right to speak plainly in lands unaccustomed to open debate. Ronald Reagan used this freedom to good advantage when he visited the Soviet Union in 1988, meeting with prominent dissidents and talking directly to Soviet audiences about the advantages of democracy. Mr. Clinton can do the same in Beijing by using Tiananmen Square as the backdrop for a blunt speech about the value of freedom and human rights.

The easiest course for Mr. Clinton would be to cancel the China trip. He properly rejected that option. But in going he must not duck the issues that divide Washington and Beijing. Stable, mutually beneficial relations will never be possible if American leaders do not forcefully defend American interests.

Editorial Observer/HOWELL RAINES

The Politics of Embarrassment in Alabama

Alone among the states of its region, Alabama has not fully turned the New South corner. The main reason for that and for the state's obsessive concern with its national image is its habit of electing governors who expose the state to ridicule. George Wallace fashioned this inferiority complex into a personal political asset with his defiant cry of "Stand Up for Alabama." But even the people who loved Mr. Wallace were humiliated by his ketchup-splattered shirts and masticated cigars. Yet like members of a dysfunctional family, enlightened Alabamians usually kept quiet around outsiders when it came to their feelings of shame and their secret longing for a governor who did not come across as a racist rant or a corrupt rube.

That tradition of silent shame may have changed on Wednesday when Winton Blount 3d, having won a spot in the Republican gubernatorial runoff, celebrated his victory by saying the E-word. The state's most pressing need, he declared, is a "Governor that won't continually embarrass us." Fob James, the incumbent Governor, responded by suggesting that Mr. Blount was a "fat monkey."

Mr. James's argument that he is "every bit a gentleman" is weakened by his record. He once did an ape imitation before the State Board

Fob James gambles that buffoonery will still sell.

of Education. He announced that the Bill of Rights does not apply in Alabama. His family owns a landfill that does business with the state, and he wants to grant his son the right to build a private toll bridge. When he welcomes visiting dignitaries, Mr. James often has the rumpled look of a man who slept in his car. All this led The Birmingham News, which is generally kind to Republican incumbents, to editorialize that "Blount's right: James is an embarrassment."

As a native Alabamian with a deep affection for my home state, I salute Mr. Blount for getting the issue of embarrassing governors out in the open and The News for supporting him. This is a terribly important election because it gives Alabama a chance to embark on the journey toward basic economic and educational reform that began in Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi and Florida almost 30 years ago.

Alabama's contrasting lack of progress can be linked directly to its penchant for electing buffoons. Be-

cause of the structure of state politics, only a progressive governor can change things. The Legislature is paralyzed by the gambling, timber and trial-lawyer lobbies. The revenue system is a joke, having been tailored by Northern corporations to avoid paying fair taxes on their Alabama holdings. The education budget is sapped by scores of redundant junior colleges, trade schools and faux universities that Mr. Wallace set up as patronage mills. The state's chief asset, the University of Alabama at Birmingham, was built with Federal dollars. Its most important industrial facility, a Mercedes plant near Tuscaloosa, was lured into the state during a happy four years between Mr. James's two terms.

In those terms, Mr. James has established himself as a contender for worst governor of the century, but it will be a hard title to nail down. Mr. Wallace, by virtue of allowing unprosecuted racial violence and a culture of endemic corruption in Montgomery, will probably win. But you've also got to consider Big Jim Folsom's public drunkenness and the hayseed machinations of Guy Hunt, elected in 1990 as the first Republican Governor since Reconstruction. Mr. Hunt used the state plane to deliver him to preaching engagements and set a new standard for rustic man-

ners, conversion of campaign funds to personal use and lack of meaningful knowledge about state business.

Mr. James seems equally devoid of public-policy expertise, but has been more aggressive in showing it. His record has defied any rational analysis. He first won election in 1978 by campaigning in a school bus as the symbol of his promise to improve education. But for the last four years he has kept the state in chaos by arguing that Alabama, which ranks near the bottom of every educational index, is spending too much on education. He is widely regarded as less interested in improving the state than in his wife's apocalyptic religious theories. She, by the way, called Mr. Blount a "big, fat sissy."

Mr. Blount, who is 54 and the son of a former Postmaster General, is only nine years younger than Mr. James, but he represents a new generation in Alabama politics. So does the Democratic nominee, Lieut. Gov. Don Siegelman. If Mr. Blount can defeat Governor James in the June 30 runoff, he will face Mr. Siegelman in November. Then, for the first time in living memory, Alabama will have a choice between two progressive candidates whose public appearances will be occasions of pride rather than dread.

Easing Loans Would Thwart Russian Reforms

To the Editor:

Jeffrey D. Sachs's June 4 Op-Ed article is consistent with the wrong-headed approach he has taken on Russia for several years.

A spontaneous ruble devaluation could mark the end of reform in Russia. Nationalists would seize upon it as proof of a Western conspiracy to destroy the country, and a strongman would arise to "save" Russia. Mr. Sachs wants a devaluation because it is better than letting greedy speculators (like me) and their henchmen from the International Monetary Fund prolong the inevitable crisis.

The key issues now are rooting out corruption in the use of budget funds and increasing tax collections. I.M.F. "conditionality" for further aid is a vital weapon in the hands of Russian reformers, who need the power of the global financial establishment to root out the tax cheats and the thieves.

It would be senseless to throw out the baby of Russia's fledgling capital markets with the bath water of contin-

ued corruption by letting fear drive the ruble down. That is why G-7 or I.M.F. assistance makes sense at this time.

STEVEN E. HALLIWELL
New York, June 5, 1998
The writer is chief executive of an asset management company.

To the Editor:

Jeffrey D. Sachs (Op-Ed, June 4) is right that the International Monetary Fund is not looking good in Asia and Russia. Its bailouts favor speculators that charged sky-high interest rates and fail to restore output and employment. However, Mexico's bailout was not very different from Russia's and succeeded in restoring growth. It also saved Latin America from a long spell of no growth and inflation. Moreover, it made money for donors. So what are we missing now?

To put it bluntly: not enough money. Partial bailouts may be worse than none. They speed up the exit and do not lay the ground for the early return of flight capital. While \$30 billion was enough for Mexico, funds committed for Indonesia are only a

fraction of the country's needs.

In addition, since bailouts are accompanied by a nagging foreign presence, political equilibrium is shaken down to its roots, scaring away a wellspring of growth: direct foreign investment.

GUILLERMO A. CALVO
College Park, Md., June 4, 1998
The writer is director of the Center for International Economics at the University of Maryland.

To the Editor:

Here we go again: Jeffrey D. Sachs attacks the International Monetary Fund (Op-Ed, June 4). He derides the high interest rates that have been required to retain flight capital, charges that the Russian Government is "corrupt and mismanaged," declares that the ruble probably can't be saved, and proves that the I.M.F. is a poor predictor of the results of its policies.

If money is fleeing Russia, the exchange rate will depreciate unless the central bank can find foreign money to exchange for the rubles presented. It clearly doesn't have it. Does the I.M.F.? Not enough, which suggests that high interest rates be employed to retain the funds.

Mr. Sachs only implies what he would do. I conclude that he would put himself in charge of the monetary fund, not give Russia any money until its Government is replaced, let the exchange rate fall, and give Russia lots of money so it can pay off the foreigners and keep interest rates low. He doesn't provide any predictions of economic performance, but I wouldn't put much confidence in his either.

JOHN T. BENNETT
Alexandria, Va., June 4, 1998

To the Editor:

In recent discussions of the collapse of Russian stock prices (news articles, June 1 and 2), little attention has been paid to President Boris N. Yeltsin's April 16 decree ordering partly state-owned companies to pay dividends to the state.

This is positive for Russia's budget, but very negative for private investors. In the long run, stock prices are the discounted present value placed on expected future cash flows.

If we presume partially state-owned enterprises operate with a fixed pool of money for dividends, the new obligation will reduce the money available to pay private shareholders by a percentage equal to the amount of state ownership. In many cases, the Government's equity stake is large and the drop in stock prices has been steep.

DAVID J. DALY
Washington, D.C., June 4, 1998

Sexual Abuses in Church

To the Editor:

It is a sign of progress that the Roman Catholic bishop for the Diocese of Palm Beach apparently became the first high-ranking church official to admit publicly that he had sexually abused minors and that the diocese is asking those who were sexually molested by him to come forward (news article, June 4).

The practice has been for a settlement to be negotiated privately and for the victim to be required to enter into a confidentiality agreement. This has eliminated bad publicity but has exacerbated the problem.

The church now has a fitting opportunity to decide as a matter of principle not to require such agreements and to release all who are bound by them.

If the church does not do so, it will send a message that the appearance of propriety takes precedence over the truth.

NICOLE M. ZEISS
Brooklyn, June 4, 1998

Town-House Sprawl

To the Editor:

Re "Suburban Town Houses Losing Their Welcome" (news article, June 1): Town houses were initially accepted not because they reduced sprawl and were therefore environmentally friendly. Rather, they were seen as cheap and available at a time when real estate prices were going through the roof and the supply of affordable detached houses was limited.

Moreover, town house developments do not reduce sprawl because there is no requirement for open space preservation in exchange for increased density. So instead of a tight cluster of buildings surrounded by green open space, the result is block after block of town houses with no open space and precious little greenery.

FRANK CHANEY
Director of Land Use
Borough President's Office
Staten Island, June 4, 1998

To the Editor:

Your May 31 front-page article on migrant farm worker housing notes that despite a joint effort by the Government and growers to build housing, workers who follow the harvests rarely benefit.

I worked as a migrant fruit picker for 16 years. The practical answer to the housing problem is for workers to own their own trailers. Growers can provide water and septic facilities in orchards and fields, and workers can gain autonomy and self-respect. Instead of sinking money into sterile barracks, the Government should help migrants who want to own their own homes. How they decide to live in those homes should be up to them.

TOBY SONNEMAN
Bellingham, Wash., June 2, 1998



consciousness of man. That is a privileged position. KEN WHELAN
San Francisco, June 2, 1998

Paying for Open Space

To the Editor:

It is encouraging to see voters across the nation send a clear message with their votes for taxes to preserve open space (editorial, May 31). But not all preservation needs to be financed by taxpayers.

For example, the Federal Government is considering support of a plan to clean and protect more than 90 percent of 7,000 acres of wetlands in New Jersey's Hackensack Meadowlands District. Limited development of about 7 percent of the area would generate the revenue needed.

The plan remains a proposal, not a policy. That is a shame since conservationists and the public are not opposed to growth, just poorly managed growth.

RICHARD FRITZKY
Rutherford, N.J., June 3, 1998
The writer is president of the Meadowlands Regional Chamber of Commerce.

Gingrich Trip Showed Support for Mideast Ally

To the Editor:

Thomas L. Friedman (column, June 2) trashes Speaker Newt Gingrich for his behavior on his trip to the Middle East. Mr. Friedman says Mr. Gingrich sacrificed "the efficacy of American diplomacy for the short-term needs of Republican politics."

But Mr. Gingrich was just copying the Clinton Administration. First, it set a deadline for Israel to accept its proposal for withdrawal from the West Bank. But how can we know Israel's vital interests better than the Israelis do? Then Hillary Rodham Clinton stepped up the pressure with her remark about the necessity of a Palestinian state. This state-

ment has never been fully repudiated by her or by the President.

Mr. Friedman cannot see this for what it is — an attempt to look "Presidential" to counter the rotting effects of Monicagate. Mr. Gingrich's motives may not be much more admirable, but at least he is on the side of our most important ally in the region.

DAVE M. O'NEILL
New York, June 2, 1998

To the Editor:

Thomas L. Friedman (column, June 2) accuses Speaker Newt Gingrich of pandering because he voiced support for a united Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Has it not occurred to Mr. Friedman that it is possible for an elected official to take a moral stand on an issue that happens to be in sync with many American Jews without the ulterior motive of a "full-body pander for Jewish votes and campaign donations"?

Does Mr. Friedman really think that Mr. Gingrich believes that a significant portion of Jewish Americans would support any Republican for any reason?

It is the position of the United States Congress that Jerusalem is Israel's capital. Mr. Gingrich is a Congressman and is affirming the official position of the body to which he was elected. Did Mr. Friedman accuse Hillary Clinton of pandering for Arab-American votes and dollars when she announced support for a Palestinian state?

LISA C. FELDMAN
New York, June 2, 1998

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School For Scandal

NEW ORLEANS
It's 3:30 P.M. on Friday and the bon temps are rolling at Galatoire's. Lawyers in seersucker are smoking big cigars and drinking champagne and telling tall tales. Blondes in flowered chiffon dresses and strappy heels are doing business on cell phones and drinking white wine and flirting with gentlemen at nearby tables.

I'm supposed to be over at the Fairmont Hotel at the annual convention of investigative reporters. I should be attending very serious panels with very serious journalists on the state of investigative reporting. Like "The Clinton Presidency: From the Lincoln Bedroom to Monica," "Nuts and bolts of the Freedom of Information Act," "Medic! Dangerous doctors and deadly nurses," "Census 2000: It's not too early to get ready" and "Digging into city and state records."

But the thought of digging in this heat and humidity is enough to make a girl wilt. Besides, I already know the state of investigative reporting. There is more of it than ever — much of it excellent. But it has less impact than ever.

In the good old Woodward and Bernstein days, reporters who dug up scandal could break a President and make their careers. Now, they can't get any traction. No matter what story they uncover about the White House — Whitewater, Lincoln Bedroom, Budhist temple, Monica, China missiles — Americans yawn.

In a way, investigative reporters are victims of their own success. They yanked the veil back in so many realms, they exposed so many clay feet, the public grew jaded. The only startling story these days is not a corrupt official, but an honest one.

Not only does President Clinton not sink. He gets more popular with each hit. Investigative reporters, once seen as glamorous and heroic, are now painted as destructive and partisan.

Thanks to the Lanny Davis and Sidney Blumenthal and Larry Klayman on the left and the right, the substance of a charge quickly gets overshadowed by the issue of who leaked it.

Of course, investigative reporters in Louisiana were always frustrated, because no matter what manner of hedonism or pocket-lining they uncovered about the charming rogues in office, the public was unfazed.

Now, thanks in part to the charming rogue in the Oval Office, the rest of the country has taken on Louisiana's tolerant and bemused attitude.

New Orleans woke up Friday morning to a huge front-page exposé in The Times-Picayune detailing the multimillion-dollar gambling profits reaped by Louisiana's former Governor and scandal impresario, Edwin Edwards, and his friends. The smooth Mr. Edwards, who has eluded reporters and prosecutors for more than a decade, merely dismissed it as "flap trap."

It is telling that one of the legends in journalism, Seymour Hersh, honored for breaking the My Lai massacre,

Where's the outrage?

was reduced to investigating sex stories about a dead President. He appeared on a panel here called "Reporting the past: Why challenge the J.F.K. myth and history?" He says that when he gets nostalgic for the golden days, he just pops his Nixon resignation tape into the VCR.

Charles Lewis, who heads the Center for Public Integrity and who has just been awarded a MacArthur genius award for his work in helping reveal official corruption, is discouraged about the "numb" public.

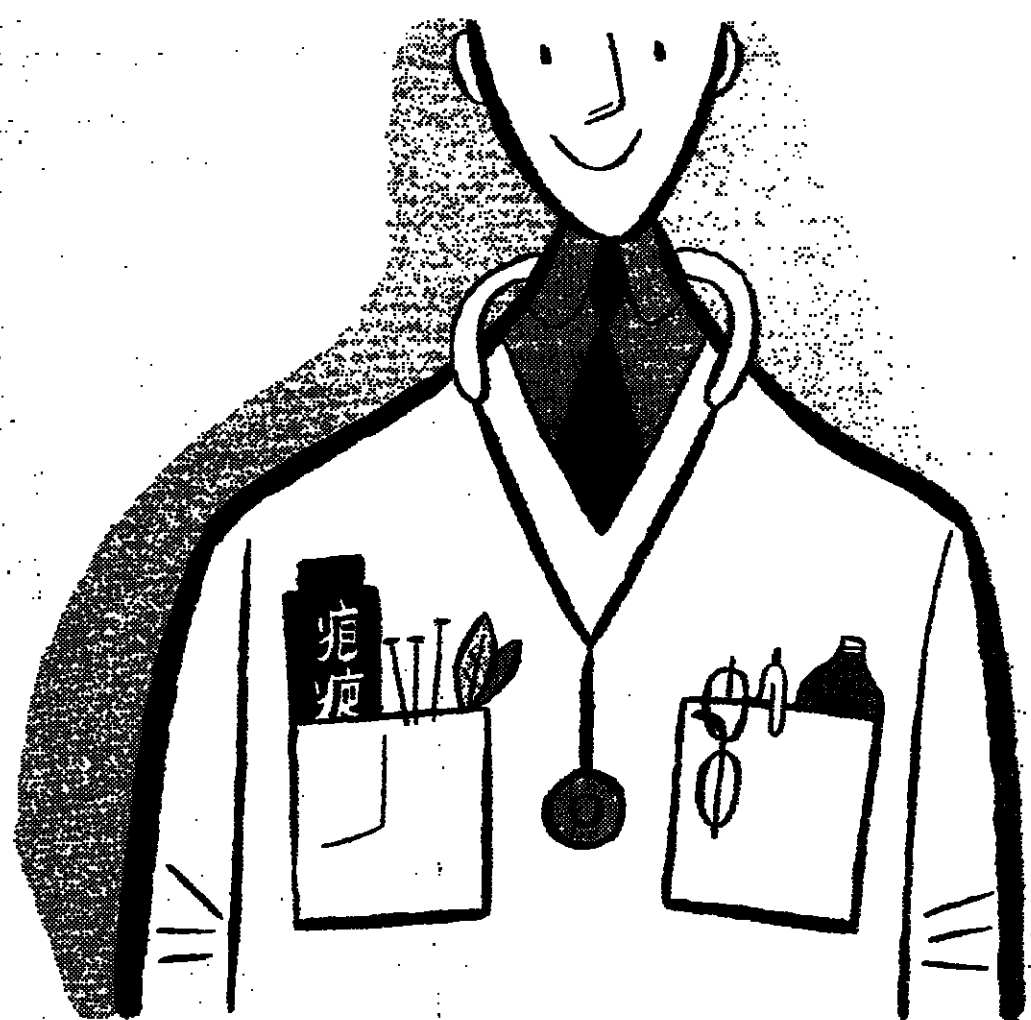
"We live in this bland yuppyfied era when people just care about fresh-squeezed orange juice and watching the stock numbers in the paper," he said.

Glen Bunting of The Los Angeles Times agreed. "We want to break good old-fashioned gotcha stories that grab the readers by the lapel," he said. "But we can't seem to break through. The readers think they've heard it all before."

"It used to be that I'd go to a cocktail party and people would say, 'Wow! You're an investigative reporter.' That's fantastic." Now they say, "You're the one that did that story? You're the bad guys."

The old image of swaggering investigators in trench coats, noble watchdogs over a political system inexorably drawn to sin, has vanished. They're still trying to be watchdogs, but without an eager audience, they've lost their swagger. In New Orleans, yuppies in thakis, with beepers on their belts, were not addressing the emul at the core of their profession. They were planning volleyball games, going to the gym and attending workshops about using computer data bases and Internet sites.

So many investigations, so little outrage.



H.M.O.'s Could Save Your Life

By Susan Love

LOS ANGELES
The future of health care in this country is about to be decided yet again by advertising campaigns and sob stories. Some lobbyists and public relations firms, pushing for tougher regulations, are parading patients who tearfully complain of abuse by mean-spirited, money-hungry managed-care companies. Others claim that regulation will only lead to higher premiums and more uninsured people.

Into this murky debate step members of Congress and state legislators, who are falling over themselves to offer legislation that would establish a "patients' bill of rights." For the most part, these bills would force managed-care companies to pay for specific kinds of care, expand a patient's choice of doctors and require plans to document the outcome of the treatment.

Such legislation tends to cast managed care as the enemy of good medicine. This is the wrong approach. Although H.M.O.'s definitely need more regulation and oversight, they may still be the best way to insure high-quality care in an efficient, cost-effective manner.

Many doctors and politicians want us to believe that we just have to get back to the good old days. But after 12 years as a surgeon in Boston and an additional six in Los Angeles, I can tell you that the good old days were not always so great for patients or doctors.

In the 1980's, medical costs were spiraling upward and yet the care itself and survival rates were not improving at the same rate. Tests abounded. As Dr. Marcia Angell, the executive editor of The New England Journal of Medicine, once said, if you think you are healthy, you have not had enough tests done yet.

How did this happen? The economic incentives encouraged overtreatment. The more tests, operations and procedures we did as doctors, the more we were rewarded by insurance companies. It didn't matter whether the tests or treatments were necessary.

In most economic markets, it is the consumers who decide when the cost outweighs the benefits. They simply refuse to pay. But in the area of health care, the consumer-patients were not the ones paying the bill. For the most part they had insurance, provided by their employers, that covered all their medical expenses. Patients certainly had no incentive and too little information to question their high-priced and often excessive care.

The system also discouraged preventive medicine. In the heyday of fee-for-service plans, insurance would not cover annual physical exams, birth control, baby care or even immunizations; nor would it cover Pap smears or mammograms.

Radical change was in order. But the transformation felt like a revolution from on high. It seemed as if it was imposed against the public's will, sparking fear, suspicion and mistrust. Today, patients no longer feel as if they have any say in their care. It seems to be controlled by employers in cahoots with the H.M.O.'s. And the public doesn't trust either of them.

Now no longer paid to overtreat their patients, doctors are encouraged to limit care to that which is absolutely necessary. But hiring the cheapest doctors and giving them incentives to keep costs down do not insure satisfactory care or happy patients.

This first phase of the revolution

Susan Love, a breast surgeon, is the author of "Dr. Susan Love's Hormone Book." She expects to earn her M.B.A. this fall at the Anderson School of Management at U.C.L.A.

hasn't been perfect, but that doesn't mean it has to be abandoned.

First, H.M.O.'s can develop uniform standards of care and insure that doctors adhere to them. For example, recent studies from the American College of Surgeons have shown that treatment for women with breast cancer varies according to where they live. Obviously, a wom-

Stop bashing managed care, and start fixing it.

an with breast cancer shouldn't be more likely to get a mastectomy simply because she lives in the South. H.M.O.'s are a perfect vehicle to insure that all doctors are using up-to-date treatments.

Second, H.M.O.'s can educate patients on what is appropriate care. Many patients are so used to overtreatment that the proper course can seem like a deprivation. For instance, the overuse of antibiotics to treat colds has led to drug-resistant bacteria, yet patients still want all the drugs they have become accustomed to.

Third, managed care can be more centered around the patient. In the past, appointments were scheduled at the convenience of the doctor or hospital, and — remember — patients were made to wait then, too. Now that health plans are vying for members, they have just begun to worry about patient satisfaction — though they have a long way to go.

Fourth, managed-care companies can broaden the range of treatment. Studies have already shown that H.M.O.'s do a better job with preventive services like mammograms, Pap smears and immunizations. And many H.M.O.'s like Oxford are beginning to cover alternative therapies, like acupuncture and biofeedback.

Instead of encouraging H.M.O.'s to fulfill this potential, however, Congress and state legislators prefer to zero in on the abuses, offering quick fixes that will do little to help. Here are some examples of what to avoid:

Playing doctor. Many states have passed legislation, for example, requiring managed-care companies to allow two-day hospital stays after a mastectomy. But in my years as a breast cancer surgeon, I often sent women home the same day after a mastectomy. They did fine, but they also had a lot of education and support.

"Drive through" mastectomies aren't the problem. It's the lack of a support system and the fact that women don't want their H.M.O.'s telling them what to do. The answer is not for legislators to decide what the appropriate treatment is, but to give patients a say in their care. This can happen if patients have a place at the table when H.M.O.'s make their policies.

Creating false demands. In the movement for a patient bill of rights, many members of Congress are touting the expansion of "patient choice." But I am not sure that people are really demanding more doctors to choose from. They just want the best medical treatment. After all, how did they choose doctors in the old system? More often than not, they asked Aunt Mabel or a neighbor. This did not insure quality care.

When we get on a plane we do not choose our pilot. We trust the airline to choose qualified pilots. In a similar way, patients would be much more comfortable if they knew that a certain health plan maintained strict quality control, picking its doctors carefully. So legislation should be more concerned with assuring quality by forcing health plans to reveal how

they recruit, select and pay doctors.

Relying too much on statistics to improve quality. The collection of data on complications and the results of treatment is important in the long run, but it will do little to solve the immediate problem — the patient's lack of trust in the system. It would be better to require all health plans to publish their guidelines for treatment, along with the supporting evidence. We also need timely, independent appeal procedures to assure that we can challenge those decisions.

Managed care has many problems, but it retains much potential. Going back to "the good old days" or passing quick-fix legislation won't do much to improve medical care. Instead, we must demand that our employers use their clout not just to lower health costs but also to improve quality. We must demand that H.M.O.'s publicize their policies and guidelines, as well as defend them.

In sum, let's not bash managed care, but improve it.

In America
BOB HERBERT

At What Cost?

It has a nice name, the "African Growth and Opportunity Act," and a clever slogan, "trade not aid," but a bill now before Congress is in fact an enormous benefits package for thriving multinational corporations and a threat to the very sovereignty of the sub-Saharan nations that sponsors of the bill say they want to help.

The bill narrowly passed the House in March, where it was introduced and pushed hard by Representative Philip Crane, an Illinois Republican who has referred to some developing African countries and their leaders as "retards." (A spokeswoman told me on Friday that the Congressman had not intended to offend anyone.)

The sponsor in the Senate, which has yet to vote on the measure, is Richard Lugar, an Indiana Republican. The bill has the strong backing of the Clinton Administration, as well as such giant corporations as Texaco, Coca-Cola and Kmart.

The aim of the bill is to liberalize trade between the United States and Africa. It would, among other things, allow duty-free and quota-free exports to the U.S. for 10 years, support the creation of a U.S.-sub-Saharan free-trade agreement and encourage the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to set up funds to stimulate private development in Africa.

But the bill also makes some demands. In essence, participating countries would have to adhere to the harsh and often inhumane requirements of the International Monetary Fund. Thus, these underdeveloped and often very poor countries would have to undergo a radical economic restructuring that would include cuts in corporate taxes, reductions in government spending and privatization of some of their most valuable assets — mines, forests, harbors, oil wells and the like — with the multinationals and other wealthy foreign investors ready to snap them up at fire-sale prices.

"What does this mean to the people on the ground in these countries?" asked Randall Robinson, the president of TransAfrica and an opponent of the Crane-Lugar bill.

He noted that I.M.F. structural adjustment programs are already underway in some African countries and studies of those programs have shown disturbing effects. Ghana is one example. It is cited as an I.M.F. success story. And yet, as Mr. Robinson pointed out, public spending on education, health and agriculture — in accordance with I.M.F. dictates to

limit spending — has been falling. Health care for the poor has taken a particularly heavy hit, even though children are dying in staggering numbers.

Half of all deaths in Ghana in recent years have been of children under 5, though that age group makes up just one-fifth of the country's population.

In Senegal, under the guidance of the I.M.F., spending on education has been cut. One might ask what sense this makes in a country in which more than 65 percent of adults and 77 percent of all women are illiterate.

A trade bill makes inhumane demands.

From the point of view of the I.M.F. and the multinationals, it makes economic sense.

The trade bill also requires participating countries to join the World Trade Organization, even though many African countries have chosen not to join. The Organization for Economic Development, a supporter of the W.T.O., has reported that sub-Saharan Africa would be a loser under W.T.O. rules because countries that import more food than they export would inevitably be hurt by requirements to cut domestic agriculture subsidies.

This is not a small matter. Four in 10 Africans suffer in some degree from hunger or malnutrition. Agricultural subsidies can be a matter of life and death in such populations.

But the trade bill fashioned in Washington says simply: you will join the W.T.O.

Attempts to amend the bill — to modify the most onerous requirements — have been beaten back. President Nelson Mandela of South Africa has characterized the bill as "not acceptable." But most sub-Saharan leaders, faced with desperately poor populations and desperately high unemployment, have signed on. They appear to hope that in some way, somehow, a trade agreement with the big boys, with the United States and its great corporations, will alleviate their economic suffering.

It's a situation ripe for wholesale exploitation.

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THE ARTS

Orchestrating the Show Within

By NORA SAYRE

GENE KELLY splashing sublimely through the puddles, Debbie Reynolds bursting out of a huge cake, Jean Hagen as a talented jazz-age movie actress who declares, "I make more money than Calvin Coolidge put together!" and Fred Astaire cutting loose in a penny arcade: we owe these moments to Betty Comden and Adolph Green, though admittedly the two writers had some assistance from directors, composers, choreographers and the performers themselves.

A good many of the ebullient lyrics and scripts that kept Ms. Comden and Mr. Green commuting between Broadway and Hollywood for decades express their irreverent affection for movies and the theater: when they present a show within a show, it's larded with fond mockery. And ever since musicals began to ape the refinements of "The King and I" and "My Fair Lady," the Comden-Green creations have appeared all the more visceral and funny.

The genesis of "Singin' in the Rain" (1952), the most famous Comden and Green's films, was somewhat haphazard. In 1950 the producer Arthur Freed handed a batch of songs he had written with Nacio Herb Brown to Ms. Comden and Mr. Green, asking them to write a picture called "Singin' in the Rain." They knew that at some point there would be a rainy scene in which someone would sing, but all they had was a stack of sheet music, no hint of a story. They decided that the songs should be presented in the context of the 1920's, when they were written, and linked to the silent movies of that era. So they focused on the impact of sound on the film industry and the ensuing turmoil. When performers must take lessons in diction, Kelly and Donald O'Connor chant some foot-tapping Comden-Green lyrics — "If Moses supposes his toes are roses/Then Moses supposes erroneously" — and Ms. Hagen's character, cursed with a whiny nasal voice, practices saying "I... can't..."

stan-nim" as her accent worsens.

The writers developed a treasury of sight gags when Ms. Hagen was wired for sound: while a microphone is hidden in her décolletage, it amplifies her heartbeat, then we hear her pearls clacking loudly together. At a preview, the actors' lines are hilariously out of sync. Ms. Comden and Mr. Green were painfully aware of the history of the ruined careers of performers with ridiculous or ugly voices, but their movie also cherishes the ludicrous. Moreover, "Singin' in the Rain" eschews the mush that creeps into many fine musicals, and there are none of the wordy lulls between numbers that make audiences mutter and shuffle.

In "The Band Wagon" (1953), a distressed Fred Astaire asks, "What's happened to 42nd Street?" as he gazes unhappily at the tawdry marquees and recalls that this was once the home of distinguished theater. This movie, directed by Vincente Minnelli, was an anthology of songs by Howard Dietz and Arthur Schwartz that were mostly written for revues. Ms. Comden and Mr. Green devised a theatrical setting, using some of their backstage experiences: the angst before an opening, the disastrous first night in New Haven, the desperate rewrites. When they gave Astaire the role of a fading star, they drew on their own early discouragements in the years before their success. And they modeled a pair of playwrights, Nanette Fabray and Oscar Levant, on themselves. The normally morose Levant seems far more enthusiastic in this picture than in any other — because he was imitating Adolph Green.

As you watch Astaire dancing with a shoeshine man or battling black-suited hoods in a parody of a Mickey Spillane thriller, you're elated to see him kneel, so you can relish the agility with which he springs to his feet. You remember that he often dances with his hands clasped casually behind his back, as in the magical duet where he and Ms. Charisse glide through the dusk in a corner of Central Park.

Ms. Comden (from Brooklyn) and Mr. Green (from the Bronx) have always celebrated New York. And

many of us feel rather possessive of "On the Town," especially the great opening number, in which the three sailors spill from their ship to lead "a lifetime in just one day," to revel in chance encounters and unforeseeable adventures.

The movie, directed by Kelly and Donen and shot partly on location, begins with the vibrant energy the show demands, when Kelly, the rubbery comedian Jules Munshin and a spindly young Frank Sinatra (timid with women and given to eloquent shrugs) hurl themselves at the skyline. Rushing from the Brooklyn Bridge to Wall Street, to Times Square, to Rockefeller Center, they capture the spirit of a city whose only tradition is perpetual change, where there's no defense against the entangling lives of strangers: you may get a bullet or a bunch of flowers that was meant for someone else.

Yet much of the rest of the movie is disappointing. The reasons are drastically simple. MGM bought the rights to the Broadway production before it opened at the end of 1944. The musical was a colossal hit, but Louis B. Mayer was repelled when he finally saw it. Above all, the studio pundits loathed Leonard Bernstein's magnificent score, considering it inaccessible. When the movie was made in 1949, most of the Bernstein songs were cut. Roger Edens was commissioned to compose new ones, and Ms. Comden and Mr. Green were under contract to provide the lyrics. There are beguiling moments, but the movie mainly swells your appetite for the Broadway revival that's scheduled for fall.

NO hooper gets tipsy quite so joyfully as Gene Kelly: as a dancing drunk in "It's Always Fair Weather" (1955), he's boneless when his legs fly sideways. With Dan Dailey and Michael Kidd he cavorts beneath the Third Avenue El: each has a foot attached to a garbage-can lid, banging it rhythmically upon the pavement. The movie, directed by Kelly and Donen with Comden-Green lyrics and script, was conceived as a sort of sequel to "On the Town":

what would happen to the young men after the war? In "Fair Weather" three soldiers vow to meet again 10 years later — and when they do, they find they can't stomach one another.

The theme is erosion: of friendship, of beliefs. Feeling degraded by their lives and jobs — a would-be chef runs a burger joint in Schenectady, an ex-painter is an advertising executive — the characters gave their creators an opportunity to lampoon television (as Hollywood often did in the 1950's, when it was losing its audience to the small screen). The writers made clever use of Cinemascope: as the men regret their reunion, the screen splits into three panels and we hear each one's private complaints sung to the tune of "The Blue Danube": "This thing is a frost/I'd like to get lost... That one's a heel/And I'm a schlemiel." Dailey's virulent alcoholic song about the idiocies of Madison Avenue, "Situation-wise," and Kelly's sidewalk tap dance on roller skates as his self-confidence builds heighten the originality of a vivacious musical that's steeped in skepticism.

IN the midst of pungent satire, pretensions die quickly in Comden-Green movies while melancholy hovers in the wings. There's a ground note of loneliness, and crises carry the threat of failure: the show may fold; the football game could be lost; the star hates the ingénue; the playwright will be fired if he misses the deadline; the desirable young woman has vanished — perhaps for good. But although a subtle pessimism flavors some of the scripts, optimism pervades "Bells Are Ringing," directed in 1960 by Minnelli, with music by Jule Styne.

Ms. Comden and Mr. Green write superb parts for performers — undoubtedly because they've been performers since they appeared in their own sketches at the Village Vanguard, then as two of the leads in "On the Town" and in "A Party With Comden and Green," a two-person evening with selections from their shows and movies. The role they designed for their friend Judy Holliday, a colleague from their nightclub days, was inspired by the phone book: seeing ads for answering services, they discovered that such a business could consist of one person announcing, "Mrs. Vanderbilt's res-



Debbie Reynolds and Gene Kelly in "Singin' in the Rain"; Betty Comden and Adolph Green wrote the 1952 musical film's screenplay.

dence" from a shabby basement room. That seemed a likely setting for a young woman once employed on the switchboard of the Bonjour Tristesse Brasserie Company.

As the artful message-taker solves her clients' problems, Holliday emits a resilient gaiety. At jubilant moments she swaggers; determination makes her walk on a forward slant; when exasperated, she lets out a guttural scream. The writers provided Holliday with an intelligent character — an exhilarating change from the apparent fluff heads she often played — and a temperament so engaging that she could persuade a crowd of cross New Yorkers to greet their fellow citizens. Like certain rare clowns, Holliday was gifted at pathos: when she sings "The Party's Over," love seems to evaporate like mist on the East River.

Conflicts were crucial to Comden-Green movies and collisions supplied some memorable scenes. As a quar-

relsome couple in "The Barkleys of Broadway" (1949), Astaire and Ginger Rogers float in and out of each other's arms, exchanging testy remarks that further divide them. Astaire was even given a chance to glower, which was unusual for him. What Ms. Comden and Mr. Green wrote often freed actors to play against type or to extend their range, as when Astaire strolls through Grand Central Terminal in "The Band Wagon," singing the somber "By Myself," and then lightning his mood by quickening his pace, or when Holliday asserts in "Is It a Crime?" that she could have saved the lives of Romeo and Juliet by relaying their messages: had they subscribed to her answering service, "Those two kids would be alive today!" That number was cut from "Bells Are Ringing," but its logic displays the entrancing ingenuity of Betty Comden and Adolph Green.

The Problem of Courtney

CCOURTNEY LOVE has a genius for alienating people. That's one indisputable fact that emerges in "Kurt and Courtney," the documentary by Nick Broomfield that opened on Friday. Ex-boyfriends, ex-employees, acquaintances and even Ms. Love's father are more than happy to say nasty things about her. Many accuse her of complicity or worse in the death of her husband, Kurt Cobain, who brought punk to the American masses as the leader of Nirvana. In a strange way, the film is almost enough to create a backlash of sympathy for her. Almost.

Cobain's death in April 1994 and Ms. Love's subsequent transformation from a grunge Fury to a designer-dressed movie actress have left her stranded between pop-culture archetypes. Is she a 1990's Yoko Ono, a strong woman with her own artistic efforts who was reviled for her effect on her more famous husband? Is she a conniving would-be star who used her music and husband as stepping stones toward fame? Is she an ex-punk who, unlike Cobain, couldn't resist selling out? Or is she, as some of the people in "Kurt and Courtney" believe, a character out of film noir, coldly plotting the death of her naïve husband to get her hands on his money?

Mr. Broomfield, the droll subjective narrator of his own film, went to Seattle to report on Cobain's life and death. Cobain was officially ruled a suicide; he was found dead from a shotgun blast, with heroin in his blood and a handwritten letter and identification near his body. Ms. Love refused to be interviewed by Mr. Broomfield, and refused to allow the use of Nirvana's songs in the film. Dave Grohl and Krist Novoselic of Nirvana are also absent from the film. Mr. Broomfield was left with tales of conspiracy to murder, conflicting interpretations of the evidence at the death scene and hearsay about Ms. Love's intense interest in her husband's will.

As glimpsed in the film, Ms. Love is no charmer. In an abortive "Today" show interview, she refuses to discuss her heroin addiction, something she had admitted to in the past; she decrees that she doesn't want to talk about it for the morning show's "demographic," making her seem both calculating and clumsy. Outside the 1997 Academy Awards ceremony, she flaunts long fingernails as proof that she hasn't been playing guitar, then blithely says, "When these come off, it's about the grunge," as if songs that sound as if they're wrenched from the soul are just a fashion choice. The death threats that she and Cobain left on a journalist's answering machine aren't exactly endearing, either.

Several people interviewed in the film insist that Ms. Love has something terrible to hide. There are, however, some possible alternative explanations for Ms. Love's stonewalling. Perhaps she had been talking about Cobain's will because she was worried about his committing suicide or overdosing; he was, after all, a heroin addict. She had recently had their child, Frances, and many people make wills when children are born.

Perhaps she didn't want to discuss Cobain's death for the film because the topic was painful for her, or because she thought she had said enough in a public memorial during which she read his final letter in tears. Perhaps, after flaunting all sorts of things about her past to the press, she was having second thoughts about doing these sorts of interviews. Perhaps she wanted the whole thing to go away.

One of the journalists she threatened, Lynn Hirschberg, had reported in Vanity Fair in 1992 that Ms. Love had used heroin while she was pregnant. That contention led to a battle (described in Michael Azzerad's Nirvana biography, "Come as You Are") with government child-care agencies over whether she and Cobain were fit parents. The situation could make a new mother act recklessly.

Even under ordinary circumstances, the punk-rock underground is not exactly a hotbed of judicious diplomacy. Cobain and Ms. Love moved in a sphere filled with



Courtney Love at the Oscars last year.

junkies, hustlers, sociopaths, groupies and freeloaders, not to mention artists. They were surrounded by people who were on the make, or self-destructive, or both; sleaze was everywhere, and so was a bizarre theatricality. It's a zone where throwing a drink in somebody's face (as an ex-boyfriend recalls Ms. Love's doing when they met) isn't exactly unheard of. Mr. Broomfield is properly skeptical about most of the people he interviews: corroborating evidence for their stories, he shows, is hard to come by.

Exaggeration, not understatement, goes with the punk territory, where obnoxiousness can be a sign of creativity. Punk songs use violence as both reportage and metaphor; they vent unpretty emotions in the name of catharsis, truth and thrills. Ms. Love used to treat other public encounters that way, too. As her band, Hole, was making itself known, Ms. Love was the woman who might take off her clothes or say anything, blurring out the thoughts that nice girls hid. She preferred attention to privacy, and she was at least as ambitious as any other songwriter who's convinced that the world needs to hear her.

But now Ms. Love, like her observers, is stuck between irreconcilable archetypes. She has received, as Hole's version of a Young Marble Giants song sarcastically phrases it, "credit in the straight world"; she's rich, famous and too well documented for her own comfort. When she acts up now, there are paparazzi and gossip columnists waiting to tell the world. And what was unexceptional behavior in the punk-rock sphere — like writing a poem as a teen-ager that announced, "I'll destroy anyone in my way" — can now, in tabloid style, be presented as ominous foreshadowing by her embittered father.

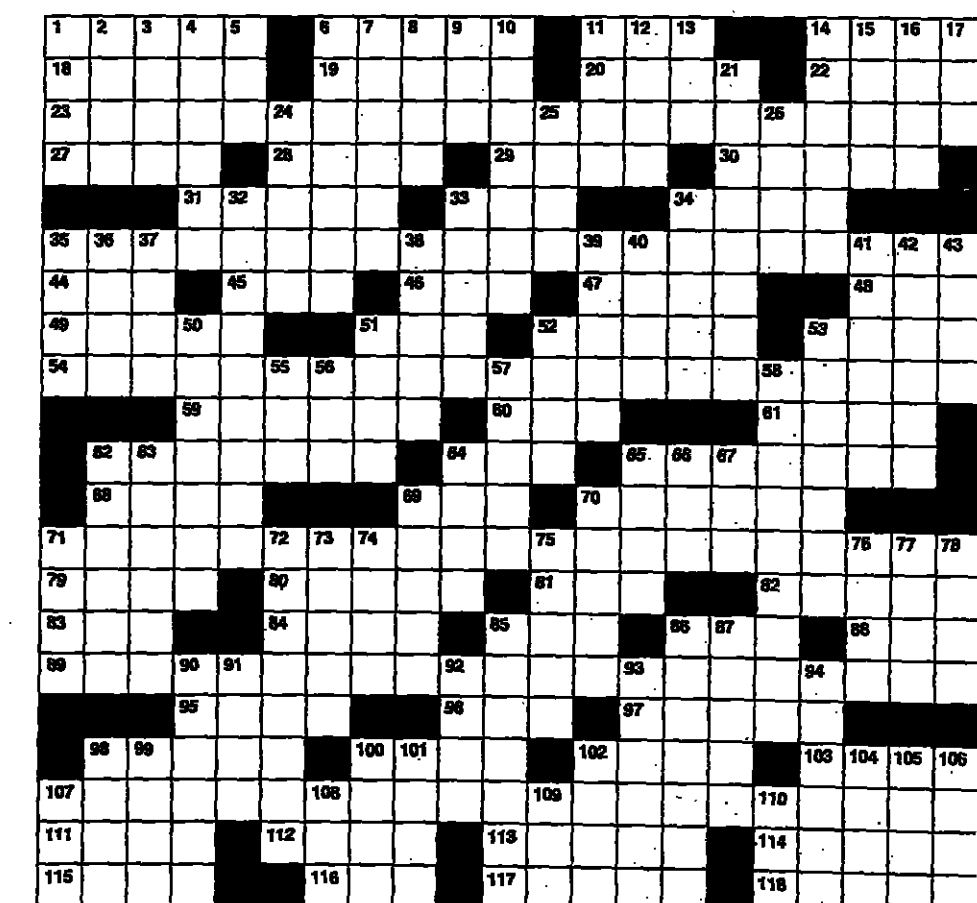
Cobain's suicide note suggests that he couldn't handle the pressures of being a commercial blockbuster. His widow isn't doing so well, either. Many people who thought Hole's first two albums were startlingly honest feel duped or disgusted by Ms. Love's transformation; after all, there's a difference between maturing and turning into a high-gloss phony. Hole's new album, due in the fall, has a lot riding on it: does the millionaire actress have anything to say to the people in the mosh pit?

TEEN-AGE Q. & A.

BY RANDOLPH ROSS / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- 1 — salad
- 6 Attempts
- 11 Churchill's "few"
- 14 Cassius's costume
- 18 Welcome sight
- 19 The Sorbonne, e.g.
- 20 Paella pot
- 22 Comet competitor
- 23 Q: —
A: Later
- 27 Café additive
- 28 "Beverly Hills 90210" restaurant owner and others
- 29 Passionate desire
- 30 Originate
- 31 Sister of Terpsichore
- 33 Happy-lark go-between
- 34 Open, in a way
- 35 Q: —
A: Out
- 44 It's changed
- 45 Egg manufacturer
- 46 Hallow ending
- 47 — Bator
- 48 Indian Prime Minister, 1991-96
- 49 The others
- 51 Sch. supporters
- 52 River of Tours
- 53 Aeronautical feat
- 54 Q: —
A: O.K.
- 59 Some computer keys
- 60 Med. drips
- 61 Compromise
- 62 Payments for releases
- 64 Genetic mits.
- 65 Took off a ship
- 68 Just beat
- 69 Play to the camera
- 70 Five-time Kentucky Derby winner
- 71 Q: —
A: Friends
- 79 "B.C." creator
- 80 Teased teen-agers
- 81 Laugh syllable
- 82 First name in cosmetics
- 83 Charlottesville-to-Richmond dir.
- 84 Romanian ruler known as "the Impaler"
- 85 Rye filler
- 86 Craggy peak
- 88 Part of X-X-X
- 89 Q: —
A: I don't have any
- 95 "Jug handles"
- 96 Bond rating
- 97 Descriptive words for Ben Jonson
- 98 Painter El —
- 100 "Makin' Whoopee" songwriter
- 102 Vault
- 103 Tierra del Fuego, e.g.



- 107 Q: —
A: I don't need one
- 111 Turner
- 112 Crematorium of Scotty
- 113 Instant
- 114 Words of wisdom
- 115 Not rash
- 116 Vegas action
- 117 Bury
- 118 Code name

- 1 DOWN
- 1 Hood
- 2 A few laughs
- 3 Actor Morales
- 4 Tailor, at times
- 5 A.L. speedster
- 6 Blood component
- 7 Colorless ketone
- 8 Farm females
- 9 Frazier foe
- 10 Gets into trouble, maybe
- 11 Popular fast-food chain, informally
- 12 Very much
- 13 Winter woe
- 14 Exotic vacation spot
- 15 Spanish eyes
- 16 Willing
- 17 Fire
- 21 Sutton sources
- 24 Greatly admiring
- 25 Poi party
- 26 Joyce's homeland
- 32 One who believes "practice makes perfect"
- 33 Per annum
- 34 Genesis
- 35 On the same side as
- 36 Santa sounds
- 37 Poetically sufficient?
- 38 "— pray"
- 39 Harbor markers
- 40 He directed Marlon
- 41 Good routine
- 42 Like an angel
- 43 Bushwhacker, e.g.
- 50 Tried to hit, in dialect
- 51 Geneva Convention concern
- 52 Hot rocks
- 53 Traits
- 55 Like some shows
- 56 Israeli day
- 57 Dog, Down Under
- 58 Tour operator, at times
- 62 Go over old territory?
- 63 Renée of the silents
- 64 Area covers
- 65 Press
- 66 Staff Sgt., e.g.
- 67 Charlie of the 60's
- 68 Confuse
- 70 Weather prefix
- 71 "That was close"
- 72 Neighborhood

- 73 Cheers
- 74 Master's ordeal
- 75 "If — nickel..."
- 76 Put — (ask hard questions of)
- 77 Eye drop
- 78 "Darrin"
- 79 China's Yellow Emperor
- 86 Arsonist
- 87 N.C.A.A. World Series site
- 90 Ink
- 91 Western city or its radio station
- 92 Diamond Head locale
- 93 "Well begun is half done" writer
- 94 Nut
- 96 Classic Italian car
- 98 Tom Clancy hero
- 100 Actor MacLachlan
- 101 Mofet L'été
- 102 Busy
- 104 Capone trademark
- 105 Totes
- 106 Suit to —
- 107 O.E.D. entries
- 108 Container
- 109 Directional suffix
- 110 Cartesian conclusion

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

ABYER RAFTS SARA ANID
SLAVE ECLAY ARES NUDE
FORESTGRUP FIAT ETOS
ITS AROSE BASSINET
THISTLES SARIS ELEE
WHATSNEWLINE VARDS
ALBAE EDE GRAF WIO
CARPATRAGGERS TEADALL
TWO MURIAN ECO CLOYED
SHACKVA ADAMS LOIS
LEAVEJITTOBEER
SHIT ODIT GAINSAYS
SHIFTS SEE GRATE NED
SANTLES GRIPSOFFRATH
END EXES BOE NATIO
WAYOF THEPROBOSER
SABO ARRIE STONEAGE
BELODICA SPURM LEE
EMBY LAVA BERRILLER
GEE EYES TINED UKAGE
GIRO EIERE EIERE EIERE

A lingering ledger of grief

The gold of Holocaust victims — their rings and watches and dental fillings — was mixed in with the gold of European banks and used to finance the Nazi war effort.

But before it was disguised, it was carefully sorted by the Reichsbank. The bank would take its SS deliveries, keep the gold and silver coins and bullion in its own holdings, and pass on the rest. Rings and gold teeth were sent to the Prussian State Mint, smelted into bars, then returned to the Reichsbank, which incorporated them into its holdings.

Precious stones, jewelry and larger items made of precious metals were sent to the Berlin Municipal Pawn Shop. Some were sold abroad for foreign currency, while the rest were sent to the Degussa Company to be smelted.

These looted valuables, their origins destroyed or concealed, became part of the mass that the Nazis filtered to finance their war effort. Most went through the Swiss National Bank, which traded the gold for Swiss francs, the only valuable currency in war-time Europe, which was then used to buy raw materials from the neutral states.

The value of the Jewish gold can never be calculated. But last week the US government issued a new estimate of the victim gold absorbed into the so-called Melmer account at the Reichsbank, used for deposits of Holocaust victims' personal possessions.

According to the US government, \$4.6 million in wartime value (worth more than \$40 million today) of victim gold ended up in the Melmer account. That is double the previous American estimate of the gold in the account, named after SS Captain Bruno Melmer, who delivered the shipments.

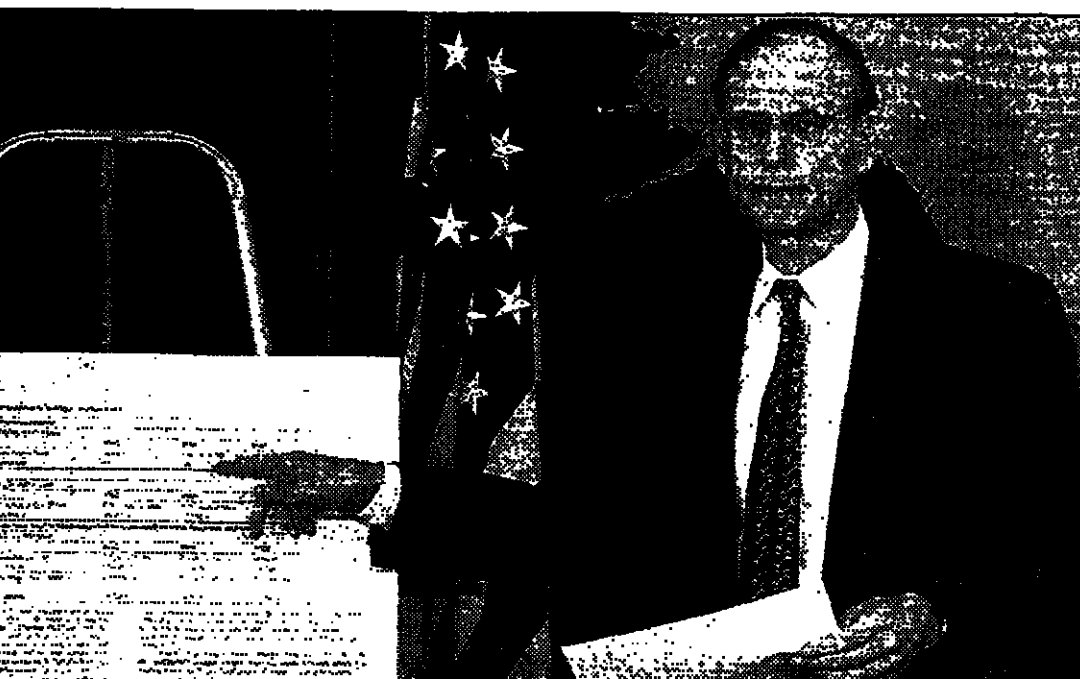
The findings on victim gold "are the most dramatic" of the second American report on Nazi loot, US Undersecretary of State Stuart Eizenstat said Tuesday. In its first historical report, issued in May 1997, the US said that some victim gold was incorporated by the Reichsbank into its reserves.

After the war, some of it was among the Nazi gold that had been recovered by the Allies and transferred into the Tripartite Gold Commission's "gold pool," used to compensate the formerly occupied European countries for the gold looted by the Nazis.

During the war, the victim gold from the Melmer account traveled widely, and not only to finance strategic materials. The Dresdner Bank and the Deutsche Bank obtained nearly \$1 million in victim gold from the Melmer account. Some of this they likely sold on the Turkish free market, according to the report, called "US and Allied Wartime and Postwar Negotiations with Argentina, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and Turkey on Looted Gold and German External Assets and US Concerns about the Fate of the Wartime Ustasha Treasury," released in Washington.

Further, records indicate that

A US government report issued last week puts the value of Nazi gold taken from Holocaust victims at twice its previously estimated value. Marilyn Henry reviews new data presented in the report on just how the Nazis obtained and used the gold



'Between a bitter past and a better future': Eizenstat explains the new, 'dramatic' estimate of victim gold in the State Department last week. (AP/Ron Edmonds)

A softer line on the neutrals

The US, scrambling over moral sensitivities and historical exigencies, last week softened its year-old indictment of war-time neutrality, even as it assailed the neutrals for trading with the Nazis.

US Undersecretary of State Stuart Eizenstat took Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Turkey to task Tuesday in Washington when he released the second American historical report on Nazi loot. Much of the report, it said, focused on the "moral dimensions" of the war-time trade with the Nazis, which supplied the Nazis with hundreds of millions of dollars in "critical raw materials" much of which was financed with gold that the Nazis looted from European banks and Holocaust victims and that passed through the Reichsbank.

Another neutral, Switzerland, was the focus of the first American report on Nazi gold, released in May 1997.

Different countries contributed to the German war effort in different ways, at different times," he said. "These differences reflect the complex, interactive history of the war-time relationships with the various belligerents and neutrals."

Eizenstat's "nuanced" view of the "complex phenomenon of neutrality" during World War II said another motivating factor was "the desire to reap economic rewards." The Allies were often frustrated by the neutrals' "legalistic justifications" for their actions, Eizenstat said last week.

That frustration was also evident in May 1997, Eizenstat was emphatic when he released the first American report on Nazi gold. "It is the unique circumstances of World War II neutrality," he wrote, "that have made it so difficult to deal with."

For example, Sweden permitted German troops to regularly cross its territory and protected German shipping in the Baltic. These were hardly "neutral" acts, Eizenstat said. On the other hand, Sweden provided refuge for some 7,000 Danish Jews and the Swedish envoy Raoul Wallenberg extended protection to 20,000 to 30,000 Jews in Hungary.

Switzerland helped Germany finance its war effort by accepting looted Nazi gold for Swiss currency, which Germany used to buy strategic materials from the other neutrals. But, Eizenstat wrote, Switzerland also let the OSS (the forerunner of the CIA) use Bern as its major listening post in Europe and, throughout the war, Switzerland was the protecting power for Allied POWs. Although diplomatic in assessing "blame," half-century later, Eizenstat implied that neutrality was no longer acceptable. The international standards of morality and proper conduct have evolved since the end of World War II, he said.

The searing experience of the war itself, the Holocaust which it wrought, the Nuremberg trials, and the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights together injected a new moral content into accepted international norms of conduct."

At least \$4,652,606.48, the Eizenstat report said, citing an analysis of microfilms of undated studies conducted by the German

chief of the Precious Metals Department, Albert Thoms.

His studies included columns for gruesome categories of loot in the SS shipments, including "Gold and Silver Coins," "Purses, knives and forks, jewelry, pearls, gold and diamond rings, watches, etc." and "Dental Gold, broken gold, silver, etc."

The estimate pertains only to the amount that the Reichsbank apparently credited to the SS for the gold in its loot shipments. However, the figure appears low, according to the American report. It says that Police Leader Odilo Globocnik reported in 1944 that he had shipped some \$3,986,953.66 in gold bullion and coins to the SS in Berlin to be forwarded to the Reichsbank during Operation Reinhard. That was the SS program for exploiting Jewish property and labor and murdering millions of Jews in Eastern Poland. The gold shipped by Globocnik, which was deposited in the Melmer account, did not include the gold looted from Nazi victims at Auschwitz and at the concentration camps and slave labor camps outside Lublin District in Poland.

Further, the gold in the SS shipments to the Reichsbank probably represented only a fraction of the gold looted from individuals, because the victims of the concentration camps had already been stripped of most of their valuables before they arrived at the camps, the report said.

Beginning in 1939, for example, Jews in Germany and German-occupied areas were forced to turn over jewelry and other personal items containing gold.

Not all victim gold was funneled directly into financing the German war effort, the Eizenstat report said. For example, most of the gold and valuables of the Jewish, Serbian and Sinti-Romany victims of the fascist Ustasha in Croatia remains unaccounted for. It seems to have been used, in part, to finance the escape of Croatian and other war criminals in Europe after the end of the war.

The American "historical exercise" was not intended only to unearth and analyze the facts, Eizenstat said.

"Such exercises are also meant to be bridges: between searing history and enduring memory; between brutality and humanity; and between a bitter past and a better future." It is our hope that this study, like its predecessor last year, can contribute to a greater understanding of this terrible period in history as well as to a greater urgency in the quest for justice," he said.

He called on other nations that have established historical commissions to set a deadline of December 31, 1999 to conclude their work and to disburse a "generous portion" of the funds that are being established to help survivors.

"By completing the unfinished business of the middle of this century by its end," Eizenstat said, "we can enter the new millennium having attempted a moral accounting of this lingering ledger of grief."

The father, the son and the holy babas

Benny or Gabi?

On November 13, one of them will be mayor of Dimona. The other will go home and cry in his pillow. This fight's a lulu. In one corner, we have Gabi Laloush, 50-year-old champion since 1989. In the other, challenger Benny Biton, 38. The referee is Albert Asaf, deputy mayor and one of our odder politicians.

Since late last year, Gabi and Benny have been trash-talking each other, and it's gotten downright personal. They wait and flail at each other in the local newspapers, through city councilors, even on posters pasted on trucks, but not face to face. Uh-uh. They ain't talking to each other.

The crux of the dispute is that since 1983 Laloush has fathered Biton from political babyhood, and Biton now wants to use everything he's learned to beat his mentor to a pulp. Biton calls that a fair

things. Hey, that's not nice, not dignified. I always gave him respect.

Then he said he was going to relieve me of all my duties. Well, I held almost all the portfolios in the city. OK, I said, you do that. But he couldn't get rid of me, I had all the support at City Hall.

"So instead, he decided to throw me and my pregnant secretary out of our office, out of the building."

Now Biton is fulminating. "He threw me out!"

"I still do all my duties, but he won't talk to me. I manage the whole city. He's nothing!"

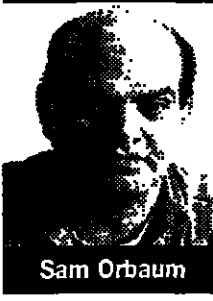
"I think Gabi

Laloush knows he won't be mayor again. Ask anyone. Benny Biton will be the first mayor born and raised in Dimona."

Hopping mad now. "There's a large truck driving around town with the words 'Benny the Traitor.' I'm sorry, but that's outrageous."

"I'm not embarrassed to say he made me, but we made each

Not Page One



Sam Orbaum

"The mayor decided to throw me and my pregnant secretary out of our office, out of the building. I still do all my duties. I manage the whole city. He's nothing!"

— Dimona mayoral challenger Benny Biton

fight; Laloush says it's hitting below the belt.

And because this is Dimona, you have to factor in the babas — the guru rabbis most people here obey.

Friday mornings, the men gather round the cafes and talk Dimona politics. The Biton camp at this table, the Laloush camp at that table. They read the just-published local weeklies, and debate what's been said about whom. The newspapers give them plenty of fodder.

On one recent Friday, Laloush ran a full-page letter in *Mabti* crying out at Biton:

"YOU WERE LIKE A SON."

"With love," he said. "You were a son of my home, we ate together, slept together, traveled together. I took you off a machine at the Dead Sea [Works]. I elevated you, I exalted you, I made you my deputy. I gave you power. And you undermined me..."

The lament ends: "YOU BETRAYED ME, FRIEND."

In the same issue is a clarion headline:

"LALOUSH, APOLO-GIZE!"

It is an attack on the mayor for his treatment of Biton. It is not signed by Biton, but by a mysterious organization called "The Dimona Faithful." Faithful to whom? Pretty obvious.

The following week's issue included a 2 1/2 page interview with Biton, a full-page ad of gratitude to Laloush from railway workers, and facing that, another page of thanks that mentions both Biton and Laloush.

As you can imagine, it didn't end there. A couple of weeks later, in the local *Lehilon*, there was a color cover photo of Biton, a full-page color photo of Biton on 4, an ad from the Dimona Faithful, a headline proclaiming Biton as Dimona's next mayor, a story about Biton opening his new office, an item on 8 about Laloush refusing to convene the city council. Even on the sports page there's a picture of Biton and a news item revealing that Dimona's Next Mayor attended a Hapoel Dimona soccer game in Holon and "encouraged the team" (nevertheless, they drew 1-1). Only the horoscope failed to extol him.

Biton, a likable young man, speaks graciously about his rival — well, for as long as he can.

"In his first term [1989-1993] Laloush did excellent work. A revolution. In his second term, Gabi started to get tired, and the city began to slide."

He smiles benignly. "I think Gabi is a good fellow — yes, I know he's angry at me. He's a good fellow, but everything good that happened, he took credit, everything bad, Albert and I took the blame. OK, that's politics."

"Then I ran against him in the internal Likud elections, and I got 65%, he and Albert together got 35%. For two months Gabi didn't say a word to me. I was his deputy! Then someone told me that he called me a liar in a meeting, and all sorts of

other, he raised me from political infancy, but this is what he raised me to be."

He hammers his desk. "He doesn't understand democracy. He's lost his way, this boy."

Albert Asaf is a free-thinking, liberal intellectual — which in Dimona, he admits, is considered weird. He is a politician who says politicians are "bastards... manipulators." He is unafraid to label his townsmen as "simplistic." He risks condemnation for heresy by the way he rails against their saintly babas ("I don't believe God gave rabbis any special powers..."). His office walls are conspicuous for their lack of obligatory photos of the various gurus. For philosophic inspiration, he prefers Kant, Plato, Spinoza. He's a Gabi man, but still talks to Benny.

"Benny has every right to go up against Gabi, but all along Benny promised he'd never challenge him. So one day the mayor wakes up and finds Benny is running against him. He's hurt, personally. It's as if you raise a son and while you're still alive he wants your inheritance now. It doesn't hurt?"

On the other hand, he allows, all's fair in politics. "Good people don't go into politics. So who stays in politics? All the garbage." He says, with surprising candor, that he expects to find himself out in the cold after the elections. Mind you, word around town is that if Benny wins, he'll give Albert a job.

SO WHO ya gonna vote for? The question caused an uproar at seedy Independence Cafe. "They're both fanatics, egotists," brays a glowering young man named David. "They only care about their own asses."

"They're both good for the city," says Shlomo, a banquet-hall manager. "The problem is, people here are friends with both. But I don't like the way they're carrying on in public. Even if it's politics, it should be respectful, dignified."

"I'll tell you how people will vote," chips in Haim, 44. "People who go to Gabi for a favor and get it, they'll vote Gabi. If Benny helps them, they'll vote Benny. It's personal. Nothing else matters."

You can't talk about one candidate or the other without debating one baba or the other. Albert Asaf believes the more politically inclined among them will sit on the fence until it is apparent who will win the election, and then hop off onto the winning side. (You may recall that centenarian mystic Rabbi Kadourie was helicoptered into Dimona near the end of the last election campaign.)

Gabi and Benny both believe in the babas, and rumors abound over which one each could garner.

The Baba Elazar, the Baba Aza, the Baba Rentgen, the Baba Baruch.

Stirring his coffee, Haim Biton snorts in disgust at the mix of politics and rabbinics. He leers mockingly. "The only one I believe in is the Baba Barbie."

רשות שדות התעופה בישראל
Israel Airports Authority

Public Tender No. C4020045 Airside Terminal Mechanical Contract

The Israel Airports Authority (IAA) hereby requests Proposals from qualified Offerors meeting the below listed Pre-Conditions for the Construction of the Airside Terminal Mechanical Work for the Ben Gurion 2000 Project. The Work of this Contract generally includes managing and performing the HVAC system and equipment, hot and cold water piping, chilled water piping, air handling units, variable air volume (VAV) boxes, ductwork and building control systems.

Preliminary Mandatory Requirements: This list summarizes the Pre-Conditions for an Offeror's Proposal to be Considered by the IAA. Only the complete language of the Pre-Conditions as stated in the RFP is binding. This text may be obtained by written request, submitted on company letterhead, to the PMF facsimile number stated below.

1. Offeror shall be registered with the Contractors Registrar of the State of Israel under the classification of Group B, Branch 170, Type 5 (Unlimited).
2. Offeror's minimum annual revenue in each of the last three (3) years was not less than the equivalent of Fifteen Million U.S. Dollars (\$15 Million).
3. Offeror's records must indicate, for each of the last three (3) years, the cost paid directly for labor for at least 80 persons (annual average).
4. Offeror has a minimum of six (6) years of experience in Mechanical (HVAC) Construction Work and constructed and completed not less than either:
 - a. Two (2) non-residential mechanical (HVAC) systems of the equivalent of Three Million U.S. Dollars (\$3 Million) within the last five (5) years; or
 - b. Two (2) projects of 25,000 square meters of non-residential air-conditioned area within the last five (5) years.
5. Offeror shall meet the staffing and personnel experience requirements specified in the RFP, Exhibit A.
6. Offeror shall meet the VAT and Israeli Tax Authorities' registration requirements stated in the RFP, Exhibit A.
7. Offeror shall provide an unconditional Bank Guarantee in the amount of Three Million and Five Hundred Thousand (3.5 Million) New Israel Shekels (NIS), valid for a minimum of ninety (90) days from the Proposal Submission Date, as specified in the RFP, Exhibit E.
8. Joint Ventures are allowed to participate in the Tender in accordance with the conditions stated in the RFP, Part B, Section 2 and Exhibit A.
9. Offeror, if a foreign entity, shall additionally provide a Commercial Cooperation Undertaking Agreement.

Additional Preliminary Requirements:

Participation in the Tender process is subject to the Offeror's satisfying all Preliminary Requirements as detailed in the Mandatory Tender Regulations (1993), Clause 6 (a), (1), (2) and (3).

Proposal Documents: Tender Documents may be purchased until the Proposal Submission Date for the non-refundable amount of Thirteen Thousand New Israel Shekels (NIS 13,000), including VAT. Tender Documents are available from the Project Management Firm (PMF) Project Office located at Ben Gurion International Airport starting 8 June 1998 between the hours of 09:00 and 12:00, business days (Sunday through Thursday). Interested Offerors must contact the PMF Contracts Administrator, Mr. Zvi Peretz Cohen at telephone number: 972-3-977-4456 (Fax number 972-3-2956) a minimum of forty eight (48) hours in advance to arrange Site access. Interested parties may preview the Tender Documents prior to their purchase.

All qualifying Proposals shall be delivered in sealed envelopes/packages not later than 10:00 hours local time on or before 4 August 1998 to the appropriate tender box located in the Archive of the Airports Authority, Main Office, 2nd Floor, Room No. 113, Ben Gurion International Airport, Israel.

A Pre-Proposal conference will be held at the Ben Gurion 2000 Project Site Offices on 17 June 1998 at 12:00 to clarify provisions in the RFP documents, to summarize and present the Project and to respond to written questions posed by Offerors. Offerors are strongly encouraged to attend, but participation is not mandatory. Site access must be arranged in advance as stated in the RFP.

The IAA is not bound to accept the lowest Proposal or any Proposal whatsoever.

BEN GURION 2000 PROJECT

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Some of the advertisements appearing in our papers are type set outside The Post. When such an advertisement arrives just before the publication deadline, especially when it is provided in the form of a film, it is difficult for us to correct any spelling mistakes that may appear. While we make every effort to correct such errors, we must ask our readers' indulgence for those occasions when this is not possible.

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ISRAEL ELECTRIC

TENDERS

The Israel Electric Corporation Ltd.

The Organisation and Logistics Branch

Logistics and Real Estate Division

Tender for Helicopter Services (Tender no. 6500 / 98)

Stage 1

- The Israel Electric Corporation Ltd (IEC) hereby requests proposals for the execution of electricity grid work using helicopters as specified hereafter: insulator washing, wire stringing, thermographic inspections, external load operations and security patrols, fault location and passenger transport.
- The contract shall be for a period of three years with an option available to the IEC to extend the contract period by an additional two years to be extended one year at a time, at IEC's discretion and as it sees fit.
- The estimated time for commencement of the service is 1.5.1999.

PRELIMINARY CONDITIONS:

- The IEC will not consider a bidder's proposal unless:
 4.1 The bidder has fulfilled the registration requirements of every register kept by Law in such matters and has all the licences, authorisations and permits required by Law.
 It is hereby clarified that in order to participate in the tender, the bidder has to be the holder of the commercial part of an Israeli aircraft operator's licence.
- The bidder has fulfilled all the authorisations required by the Public Bodies (Transactions) (Enforcement of Bookkeeping) Act, 1976.
- A. The bidder has helicopter/s of the type/s, in the quantity/ies and with the operational capability required for each type of work for which he has submitted a proposal, all in accordance with the requirements of the specifications.

Regarding this condition, the bidder has to prove that he has at his disposal at least the following number of helicopters (helicopters which conform to the requirements of the different types of work in accordance with the specifications):

- A bidder who submits a proposal for all the types of work specified in the tender:
 2 helicopters for insulator washing and
 1 helicopter suitable for executing all the other types of work.
- A bidder who submits a proposal for only the insulator washing work:
 2 helicopters for insulator washing.
- A bidder who submits a proposal for the insulator washing work and for one or more other types of work:
 2 helicopters for insulator washing and
 1 helicopter suitable for executing the other types of work.
- A bidder who submits a proposal for all types of work (except for insulator washing):
 1 helicopter suitable for executing the various works.
 * A bidder who submits a proposal for external load operation work with a weight of up to 1,400 kg has to prove that, in addition to the helicopters specified above, he has another helicopter suitable for this work at his disposal.

For purposes of this clause "at the disposal of the bidder" means that the bidder has rights of ownership and/or of lease and/or of use of the helicopters and/or the bidder has a contract to obtain the rights of ownership and/or of lease and/or of use of the helicopters by not later than the date proposed in the bidder's organisation programme for obtaining licences for the helicopters for executing the services.

B. The bidder has to attach to his proposal, licences, certificates and/or other documents which prove his rights as specified above in respect of each of the helicopters with which the bidder proposes to execute the services.

- The last date for submission of technical proposals is 13.00 hours (Israel time) on 17.8.1998.
- Technical proposals shall be placed in the bid box of the Titled Department of the Logistics and Real Estate Division of the IEC, 4th floor, Ashdod House, 90 Yigal Alon Street, Tel Aviv.
- The tender documents can be obtained until 6.7.98 between 8.00-15.00, Sun-Thurs., at the offices of the IEC, Logistics and Real Estate Division, 90 Yigal Alon Street, Tel Aviv.
 The tender documents can also be obtained by letter or fax request, to be sent by courier. Such request should include forwarding address.
 Further details can be obtained from Mr Zvi Masor at:
 Tel: 972-3-5654918
 Fax: 972-3-5654930
- The payment for the tender documents is NIS 2,188. This payment will not be refunded.
- The IEC is not obliged to accept the cheapest proposal or any proposal whatsoever.
- The IEC reserves the right to conduct negotiations in those circumstances permitted under the law.

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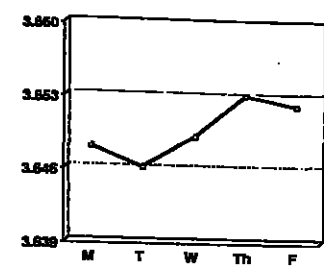
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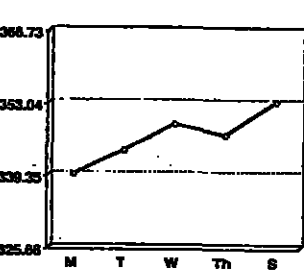
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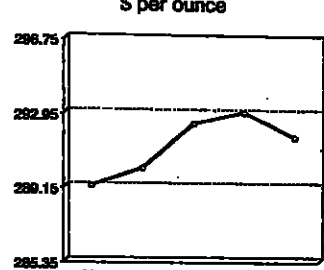
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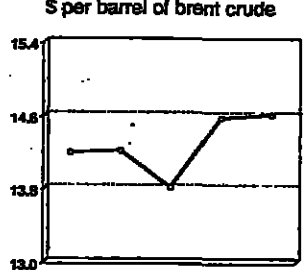
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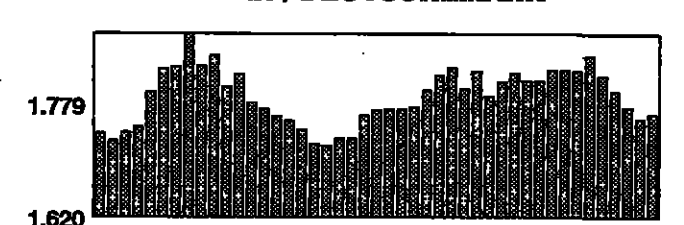
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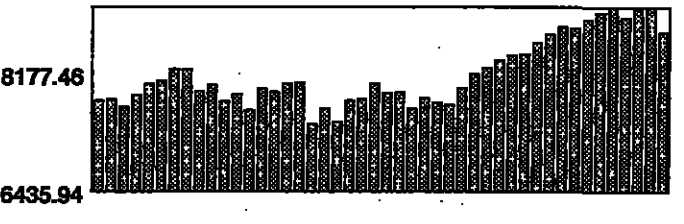
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Tadiran wins \$22m. US Navy contract

Tadiran's subsidiary Tadiran Spectralink said on Sunday it had won a \$22 million contract to supply air search and rescue systems (ASARS) to the US Navy. These ASARS, for the use of navy pilots in times of peace, will replace systems in use for the past 20 years. Tadiran's ASARS are significantly cheaper than more sophisticated systems targeted for war-time use, the company said. Tadiran Spectralink president and chief executive Yitzhak Beni said the contract was an important breakthrough for the company because of the potential for winning similar contracts with other armies and navies. Tadiran is a subsidiary of Koor Industries. *Reuters*

Central bank changes interest calculation

Bank Supervisor Ze'ev Abeles has decided to change the methods for calculating interest payments on foreign currency accounts. In the new system the figures will be based on a 365 day year and not 360. The alteration means customers will pay less interest on foreign currency loans. The change was implemented following a request to reform the system from Sagy Bank Interest Calculation and Economic Consulting. *David Harris*

Israelis drove 6% further in 1997

Drivers covered 33.6 billion kilometers last year, a 6 percent increase on the 1996 figure, the Central Bureau of Statistics reported yesterday. The number of vehicles on the road rose 5% in the same period. Over the last nine years, the number of kilometers traveled has doubled, while there has been a 72% increase in vehicles on the roads. At the same time, an additional 19% of roads have been constructed. *David Harris*

Small factories poll 61% have credit problems

Sixty-one percent of factories with fewer than 100 employees are facing credit problems, according to a survey from the small and medium-sized factories division of the Manufacturers Association. Of the 102 factories questioned, 55% said they faced difficulties in marketing abroad and 36% in the domestic arena. *David Harris*

Palestinian electronics firm in share offer

By MONA ELTAHAWY

A Palestinian home electronics company that is being set up offered the public 662,500 shares yesterday at a price of one Jordanian dinar per share (NIS 5.18). The sale, covering almost 30 percent of the company's total shares, is to begin on June 15 and last for a month. Palestine Electronic and Electrical Company (PEEC) said in an announcement in the *Al-Quds* newspaper. PEEC said its work would cover mainly the production and marketing of home electronic and electrical goods including televisions, radios and air conditioners. It invited applications for a minimum of

200 shares apiece.

The announcement said that PEEC had secured an agreement with South Korea's Samsung Electronics allowing it to manufacture and distribute Samsung household products in Palestinian-controlled areas. Khalil Abdel-Latif, project manager of the firm, said he expected the sale would be "covered very easily" despite investor apprehension. "There is no doubt that the economic and political situation is not encouraging. But today - the first day the announcement was placed in newspapers - the phone hasn't stopped ringing," he said. Palestinian brokers and analysts say the tussle in Israeli-Palestinian peace talks and Israeli

Economist Yoram Gabbai:

Currency reform still ineffective

By DAVID HARRIS

The liberalization of foreign currency regulations will remain ineffective until there are comprehensive reforms of the tax system and capital markets, former state budget director Yoram Gabbai said yesterday.

While refusing to respond to a paper from Gabbai, a Treasury source said that Finance Ministry discussions on a comprehensive reform of the tax system are "at an advanced stage," and will address three key issues:

- Widening the tax base
 - Reducing tax rates
 - Introducing annual personal tax reports.
- "The package will be carefully measured alongside the macroeconomy in order to encourage growth," the Treasury source said. In his paper, Gabbai, who now heads Peilim

Portfolio Management, a member of the Bank Hapoalim Group, writes that "the State of Israel must complete tax reform so that foreign currency liberalization will be effective and not merely formulaic. If this is done, the benefits would be seen in efficiency, prices and financial services to consumers."

As long as these changes are made along with those needed in the capital markets, the liberalization will prove a great success, writes Gabbai. However, if these two elements are not present, "it would be better not to complete the liberalization process."

When Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu made the currency reform announcement in the run-up to Independence Day, the key taxation issue was only briefly referred to, leaving investors uncertain as to how heavily they will be taxed on foreign assets, particularly as they

were told they will have to provide full reports on foreign income.

At the end of April, Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman told *The Jerusalem Post* that immigrants will not be affected by the prospective tax reform.

"There are no such implications, since all overseas-paid taxes will be credited by the Israeli government," he said.

The liberalization allowed most foreign currency transactions but left two restrictions in place: on the amount institutional investors can move overseas and the ability of foreigners to buy futures here. Last month Farida Khambata, director of the Treasury operations department at the International Finance Corporation (IFC), urged Israel to abolish these remaining restrictions.

Motorola to cut 15,000 jobs

SCHAUMBURG, Ill. (Reuters) - Motorola Inc will cut 15,000 jobs during the next year as part of a restructuring that will require the company to take pre-tax charges of nearly \$2 billion, Motorola said on Thursday.

Even before the charges, totalling about \$1.95b., Motorola said it could show a second-quarter operating loss as a result of deteriorating demand and global pricing pressure.

The problems are principally in the semiconductor products segment and primarily reflect the weak economic conditions in Asia, the semiconductor and telecommunications products company said.

Motorola's semiconductor business, which had been coming out of an industrywide cyclical downturn, has been hit hard by the Asian economic crisis.

"The likelihood of a decrease in global semiconductor shipments has been growing, and Asia in general is an area where Motorola has a substantial portion of its sales," Robert Wilke, analyst at Brown Brothers Harriman said.

Analysis had been expecting some restructuring by Motorola, but many may have been surprised by the magnitude.

The proposed cuts would eliminate about 10 percent of Motorola's 150,000-employee workforce and come on top of other isolated job reductions that have occurred as the company evaluates ways to improve profitability.

That process is being accelerated, because the improved profitability and higher sales that the company forecast late last year have failed to materialize, Motorola said, adding that the goal of the restructuring was to produce more than \$750 million in annualized savings.

"It is clearly time to accelerate the implementation of our renewal plan," Robert Growney, Motorola's president and chief operating officer, said in a news release. "We are determined to return our financial results to an acceptable level as soon as possible."

Motorola has already said it wants to exit some parts of the modern business and has left the DRAM semiconductor market.

Motorola also plans to consolidate manufacturing operations throughout the company, with an emphasis on its Semiconductor Products, and Messaging, Information and Media segments, which includes the pager business.

While the semiconductor business was being hit by Asia, Motorola's cellular telephone business has had its own problems.



Pushing for high-tech workers

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu (left) yesterday tells his director-general, Moshe Leon (center), and Education Minister Yitzhak Levy that he will immediately implement the recommendations of a Council for Higher Education report proposing the country double the number of academically qualified high-tech workers over the next six years. *(Kevin Unger)*

EU mulls farm production cut

By MICHAEL MANN

BRUSSELS (Bloomberg) - The European Commission will propose Wednesday that Europe's grain farmers take 12 percent of their land out of production in 1999, to cut cereal surpluses and boost prices, commission officials said.

An increase in fallow land would reduce grain production in the EU in 1999 by up to 10 million metric tons or 5%, according to EU estimates. That would boost prices, and reduce the amount of money the EU spends buying up surpluses.

"We already have a major build up of stockpiles, and this will get even worse after the 1998 harvest," said James Baugh, an economist for U.K.'s Home Grown Cereals Authority. "It's quite possible that prices will fall near to the guaranteed minimum later this year because of the surpluses."

EU agriculture ministers will decide later this month whether to approve the proposal which would increase the amount of land left unplanted from 5%.

Last month Cereals forecast an EU grain harvest of 201.27 million

metric tons in 1998, down 0.3 percent from 201.85 million tons in 1997.

Wheat for July delivery rose one cent to \$2.82 a bushel in Chicago on Thursday. The price has fallen gradually since the beginning of the year. On January 2 a bushel was quoted at \$3.43.

EU farmers have been required to leave a certain portion of their land fallow every year since 1992, when ministers decided production had to be curbed following the build-up of major grain surpluses - the EU's infamous "grain mountains."

Grain traders said it was too early to comment on the plan, though they are generally in favor of maximizing production.

"In the past, we've always said we'd prefer set-aside to stay at 5%," said Bernd Gruner, deputy secretary-general of Cereals, which represents grain traders throughout Europe.

Commission officials said a majority of the agricultural advisers to the 20 European Commissioners agreed this morning to support EU Agriculture Commissioner Franz Fischler's plan to increase set-aside to 12%.

Italian company to grow wheat in Negev

By JUDY SIEGEL

The world's largest pasta corporation, Barilla of Italy, has initiated a joint research project with the Volcani Institute for Agricultural Research in Beit Dagan to grow durum wheat in the Negev.

The project, sponsored by the Peres Institute for Peace, is aimed at growing the hard-grained wheat by irrigating with saline water in the consistently hot climate. This combination has been shown to produce high-quality durum wheat for pasta flour.

Dr. Uri Kushnir, head of Volcani's department for genetic collections and seed research, has started developing high-quality strains of durum wheat suited to cultivation in the Negev and

resistant to local plant diseases. Initial success with the project has already aroused interest in Egypt and Jordan, the institute reported.

The project can serve as a basis for regional economic cooperation and for making the Middle East an important source of wheat for the world's pasta industry.

Kushnir says the project could also restore Israel's reputation from ancient times as an exporter of wheat and encourage more land cultivation in the Negev.



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Who's delivering the mail?

CHICAGO — He stepped to the podium clad in a snug T-shirt that accentuated his well-chiseled body. Indeed, to see Utah Jazz forward Karl Malone up close, you're even more impressed by how massive the man is.

He was the NBA's Most Valuable Player in 1997 and runner-up this season. During this year's playoffs, he has run over and through the likes of Hakeem Olajuwon, Charles Barkley, David Robinson and Shaquille O'Neal.

MY CALL

By JERRY BEMBRY

So why, two games into the NBA Finals, with Game 3 last night at the United Center in Chicago is the biggest question: "Where in the world is Karl Malone?" And why is the 6-foot-9, 256-pound Malone shooting jumpers, instead of bullying Luc Longley?

Malone has been an NBA Finals no-show. With a subpar 16-point effort in Friday's 93-88 loss, he is shooting 34.1 percent (14 of 41 from the field) through two games. And with the mounting criticism of him, one has to wonder at what point does his problem become mental.

"Yes, but — yes, I would, you know, and like I say, all year I make those shots," said Malone, stammering on the podium at the Delta Center during a post-game interrogation after Friday's loss. "It just comes at a bad time not to make them. You know, guys, I wish I could make a lot of excuses, but I don't have any."

How's this for a suggestion: Perhaps Malone is incapable of rising to the occasion in big games. On Friday, he didn't make a shot in the second half and missed his only two fourth-quarter attempts. That followed a poor Game 1 in which Malone shot just 9-for-25.

And even during last year's Finals, Malone failed in the clutch. He missed two free throws in the final seconds of Game 1 that, instead of giving the Jazz a two-point lead, instead set

up Michael Jordan's game-winning shot. In Game 2, Malone shot 6-for-20 from the field. And facing elimination in Game 6, Malone missed seven of 11 free-throw attempts in the season-ending four-point loss.

Asked why Malone didn't get more shots in the second half of Friday's loss, Jazz Coach Jerry Sloan seemed to place some of the blame on his All-Star forward.

"I never said I didn't want Karl Malone to take shots," Sloan said. "But the important thing is how hard do you work to get open to get shots. They were doing a great job, they stood up and took us out of some of the things we wanted to do. That's when you have to be tough mentally and stay with it."

If Malone doesn't somehow find that mental toughness over the rest of the series — and if Utah doesn't win the title many predicted — he will be haunted the rest of his career for his failure in big-game situations. His struggles are a complete surprise, especially after he dominated the postseason up until this series (Malone averaged 26.5 points on 45.8% shooting entering the finals).

Despite his size, Malone's major shortcoming is that he has never really developed adequate post moves. Malone is best at steamrolling a defender, scoring off the fast break or running pick-and-roll plays with John Stockton. Chicago took away many of those options Friday.

Another option for Malone has been his jumper, which was accurate in the Western Conference finals against the LA Lakers. Malone is getting good looks on his jumper against the Bulls, but the shots are simply not falling.

"Those shots, I've made all year," Malone said. "It's just coming at an unfortunate time I'm not playing well right now."

(The Baltimore Sun)



Victory gallop noses ahead of Real Quiet at the finish of the Belmont Stakes on Saturday.

(Reuters)

Real Quiet comes real close to winning Triple Crown

NEW YORK (AP) — The Fish was headed for the Triple Crown — and then he got caught.

Real Quiet was nosed out of the Belmont Stakes on Saturday by a startling stretch run from Victory Gallop, who won a bumpy duel and nailed him in the final stride.

"The Fish was floundering at the end," said trainer Bob Baffert, referring to Real Quiet by his nickname. "He was tired. He was done. He was beat. He ran his heart out."

Real Quiet swung into the

stretch and led by as many as six lengths, with the crowd screaming, sensing history in the making. But Victory Gallop cut it to four and the horses were nearly side by side when they bumped about 70 yards from the end.

Even if Real Quiet finished first, the stewards said they were prepared to disqualify the Kentucky Derby and Preakness winner for drifting into his rival in the deep stretch.

Victory Gallop, who finished second to Real Quiet in the first

two Triple Crown races, finally found a way to win. And he did it by wearing him down in the 1 1/2-mile Belmont, the longest race in the series.

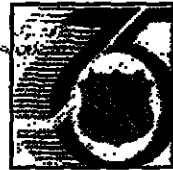
"I think it's fair we turned the tables," winning trainer Elliott Walden said.

Real Quiet, the 4-5 favorite in the field of 11 3-year-olds, took the lead from Chilito three-eighths of a mile from home, and the crowd of 80,162 — the second-largest in Belmont history — roared its approval.

It appeared Real Quiet was about to become racing's 12th Triple Crown winner and the first since Affirmed in 1978. He also was on the verge of avenging his stablemate, Silver Charm, who last year finished second in the Belmont by three-quarters of a length.

And just when it seemed Real Quiet had passed the "Test of Champions," Victory Gallop put his nose ahead at the wire. It took a photo finish to separate the two.

Capitals' Kolzig on a roll as Stanley Cup finals draw near



WASHINGTON (AP) — Olaf Kolzig usually plays better when he faces a barrage of shots. That's

a good thing for the Washington Capitals, because Olie the Goalie can expect to be a busy man in the Stanley Cup finals.

Kolzig is the main reason why the Capitals are in the finals for the first time in their 24-year existence. A backup just a year ago, Kolzig has allowed only 31 goals in 17 playoff games thus far — an impressive average of just 1.82 goals per game.

But now he must face the Detroit Red Wings, who have the top four point-scorers in the playoffs — sharpshooters Steve Yzerman, Nicklas Lidstrom, Sergei Fedorov and Tomas Holmstrom.

Halfway through Game 6 of the Capitals-Buffalo series, the Sabres were outshooting Washington 20-10.

But Kolzig allowed only two goals in 66-plus minutes in that game and Washington won in overtime.

Game 1 of the finals will be held tomorrow night in Detroit. The Capitals on many occasions in the past were victimized in the

playoffs by a hot goaltender, but this time Washington seems to have one on its side. Kolzig, however, refused to accept the label.

Kolzig won't be able to beat the Red Wings by himself, although the Capitals give him credit for lifting him past the Boston Bruins in the opening round when Washington was badly outshot in virtually every game.

"We have to be ready," forward Joe Juneau said. "We just have to keep on playing better and better."

Against Boston we weren't playing our best hockey, and Olaf Kolzig kept us in the series. Against Ottawa we played better,

and against Buffalo we turned it up a notch.

Having worked so hard to advance to the finals for the first time, the Capitals are in perfect position to suffer a huge letdown. But the players know that winning the Stanley Cup is the only way this season can be considered a complete success.

"We won our (conference) and now we have a chance to win the Stanley Cup. We have to remember that we have a lot of work to do," forward Chris Simon said.

"We're not satisfied with being second. We want to be No. 1, and we know we have to keep playing the same way."

Ra'anana bowlers win Northern Pairs tourney

By NORMAN SPIRO

John Goldberg and Sol Rootstain (Ra'anana) won the annual National Northern Pairs lawn bowls tournament in Haifa over the weekend, while Ruthie Gilor with Shosh Cohen of Kiryat Ono took the women's trophy.

In a tight head-for-head game, Goldberg and Rootstain playing against the Haifa pair of Moshe Ranan and Arie Ben-Dor kept ahead with accurate bowling to lead 12-6 at the 11th end, but an excellent fight back saw the Haifa pair make up the deficit to lead 14-

13 at the 18th end.

In the following head, Ra'anana scored a counting 4 when Rootstain drew to the jack and Goldberg added three more accurate bowls. With two more in the penultimate end the Ra'anana pair came through for a deserved 19-16 win.

Gilor playing excellent bowls and well supported by Cohen outplayed the Ra'anana pair of Lorraine Rabman and Sylvia Machet to lead 11-6 at the 10th end and then win six of the remaining seven heads for a 22-7 victory.

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Of kings, lady luck and piranhas

Offer Ronen-Abels discusses the chances for South American success at the World Cup with journalist Salva Brazilai

SALVA Brazilai has become a well-known personality to local sports fans. The diminutive Brazilian is recognized wherever he goes mostly for his passion for his beloved country and specifically for its national soccer team.

Brazilai, who also writes for Yedioth Aharnot, broke into the public eye a few years ago, when he became the South American specialist at Cable TV's Sports Channel during the Copa America, South America's biennial nations cup tournament.

Brazilai, 46, whose Tel Aviv home looks like a shrine to his beloved team of gold and green, is preparing himself for another do-or-die Mundial.

He explains the importance of success at international level for all South American nations where the passion for the game is unparalleled.

"Football is a simple game which is played for the people by the people. In South America, the World Cup especially, is an event which unites people around one issue: the success of their national team," he says.

"The simplicity of the game, and the fact that most South American players come from poverty-stricken backgrounds makes it easy for the ordinary folk to identify with their idols who made it from the very same gutters to super-stardom."

"Most South American players do not forget where they came from and are therefore more street wise than their European counterparts," Brazilai continues.

REGARDING Brazil's South American rivals' chances, Brazilai is optimistic.

He doesn't rate Paraguay too highly, saying that despite having former Flamengo coach, Brazilian Cesar Carpegiani, as their manager, a team that has their most significant player between the posts — the volatile Jose Luis Chilavert — will not do much in France.

On the other hand, he predicts Chile will do well in their relatively easy group, as they have two outstanding strikers in Marcelo Salas and Ivan Zamorano.

The Mexicans are another side to watch out for. "Mexico are a very experienced side, they always do well in big tournaments. On paper they have a tough group but I think they may eclipse Belgium and possibly even Holland."

Brazilai remembers the great Pele when asked about Colombia. "In 1994 Pele said that



BRAZILIAN PASSION — Salva Brazilai

Colombia were his favorites to win the World Cup and he didn't think Brazil stood a chance. We all know what happened!"

"This time, Pele has said the exact opposite — but we all know that the 'great one' is always wrong," he jokes says.

Talking about Brazil's arch rivals, Argentina, Brazilai is careful as he has many friends who support the Argentines.

"I enjoyed myself so much at Teddy Stadium a couple of months ago when Haim Revivo scored the winner and beat them. But it didn't last that long, as Argentina beat Brazil at the Maracana a couple of weeks later."

"Defeat by Israel must have been the kick up the backside that the Argentinians needed in order to get their act together because since then they haven't stopped winning," Brazilai laments.

"They are a very organized team and it scares me," he says. Argentina are a very disciplined side, but they haven't got a 'king,' and a good South American side always needs a king. Batsuta isn't a leader simply because his coach (Daniel Passarella) doesn't allow him to become one."

Brazilai is cautious about his own beloved team's chances, but being the staunch, perhaps blinkered, supporter that he is, he can't see anything for them apart from victory.

"The World Cup is a very difficult tournament but Brazil are the best individuals in the business. We have in our squad two Spanish champions (Barcelona's Rivaldo and Giovanni), One European champion (Real Madrid's Roberto Carlos) and one UEFA champion (Inter's Ronaldo) the question is to get the right balance."

"A team needs good balance, a great deal of luck and a king," says Brazilai, as he explains with a typical Latin passion: "Following the defeat by Norway, Zico was brought into the side to take some of the heat off Mario Zagallo and both of them will have to make sure the team is well balanced."

"As far as lady luck, is concerned, all you have to do is to look back and see the way that previous World Cups were won: The infamous 'Hand of God' (like a true Brazilian, he doesn't miss a chance to have a go at arch rivals Argentina)."

"Another great example of luck is the way in which Germany always win when the chips are down and of course, Brazil's victory in the penalty shoot-out over Italy in the 1994 final."

Regarding the king, Salva was happy to have two in this tournament in the shape of Ronaldo and Romario but a phone call interrupted our conversation which put Brazilai and countless other Brazilians into a state of shock when he was told that Romario was out of the 22-man squad for the finals.

"Zagallo must have been encouraged by Gazza's omission from the England squad as he dropped Brazil's World Cup darling," said a pale Brazilai only seconds after putting the phone down.

After a few minutes, when he began regaining his composure, Brazilai said he thought Romario's omission might form a bond in the side in a similar fashion to way in which the death of Ayrton Senna gave Brazil the extra motivation to succeed in 1994.

His prediction that the combination of Rivaldo and Ronaldo, who may be joined up front by either Giovani or the most expensive player on the planet, Denilson, will lead to nothing other than another World Cup win. But it won't be easy and he quotes Romario in trying to depict just how difficult the task will be: "In a river full of piranhas even a horse has to sip water through a straw."

